THE

Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

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CONTENTS.

ECCLESIASTICAL:—
The Churchman's Mirror. No. IV.—National Profession 125
The Old Enemy Again.... 125
British Anti-state-church Association Meeting at Camberwell 126
The Mirror of Parliament .. 127
Postscript 131
POLITICAL ARTICLES:—
Sammary 132
The Division 132
Chaff for the Militia..... 133
The Free-trade Division.... 134
Foreign Intelligence..... 135
The Peace and Anti-Militia Movement 135
Election Intelligence 136
Correspondence..... 137
Literature 137
The Family Companion.... 137
Gleanings 138
Births and Deaths 138
Trade and Commerce 139
Advertisements..... 140

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE CHURCHMAN'S MIRROR.

No. IV.

NATIONAL PROFESSION.

SUCH is the phrase which binds, as with a wythe, the first bundle of arguments which we propose to open and examine—arguments, we take leave to think, containing as much of the fibre of truth, and fully as redolent of the fragrance of piety, as any which the advocates of state-churches can proffer. Let us do them justice, at starting. If errors they be, as we believe earnest consideration will prove them, they are neither gross nor contemptible. They are born, on one side at least, of godly virtues—their port is lofty—their spirit generous—their general purpose noble and divine. They are not the mere minions of crafty courts. They were the favourites of the old Reformers—recognised and cherished by the Puritans—believed in, for the most part, if not welcomed, by the Nonconformists—honoured, in our own day, by the Free Church. Learning the most profound has bowed its venerable head before them—piety, the most seraphic which our earth can yield, has clasped them to its bosom. If then, in these later times, they be brought to the bar of reason and of scripture, it behoves that they be permitted to speak what is in them to candid minds, that they be listened to with respect, and be judged, however impartially, with kindliness of manner. We will remember whence they come, and where they have customarily tarried; and they shall have at our cheerful hands, all the honour which, consistently with our allegiance to truth, we may pay to those who, thinking to serve her, have inflicted upon her government the severest injuries and loss.

A national profession of Christianity! 'Tis a brave notion we must needs allow. It appeals to the best elements of our common nature. It glides into our presence with the mien of an angel of light. Must it not be true? Must it not be divine? The civil governments of the earth, whether holding their authority, as some contend, from their people, or deriving it, as others say, immediately from God, are responsible, for the due exercise of it, to the King of kings. High as may be their functions, and wide the sphere of their dominion, they are but stewards for the Supreme Governor of nations. Their power and interest they hold in trust for Him—to Him they are responsible—by Him they will at last be judged. They are God's servants, bound, as is the meanest subject, to use the means committed to them in furtherance of his revealed designs. Their capacity as Rulers is a Providential gift; and every gift of Providence should be consecrated to religion. It becomes, therefore, their obligation, as legislators, magistrates, and sovereigns, to recognise God's truth revealed for man's salvation—to profess it openly—to support it heartily—to strike in with Heaven's intention in communicating it—and to pay it that sincere homage, in the face of all the people, which its origin, its character, and its beneficent purport, alike demand. That they shall do so in the last days—that is, under the Christian dispensation, is foreshadowed by ancient prophecy, wherein we are promised of the Church that "Kings shall be her nursing fathers, and Queens her nursing mothers." That it will be at peril of heavy judgment they refuse to do so, they have received emphatic warning—"Be wise now, therefore, O ye Kings, be instructed ye judges of the earth. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry." The express commands of Scripture, therefore, coalescing, as they always do, with the dictates of enlightened reason, imply the inclusion of religion within the province of the civil magistrate. The profession of the true faith, the employment of the means he has at command in furtherance of it, and, consequently, the establishment of it, become not merely permissible, but obligatory, upon him; and this is the solid basis upon which state-churchism ultimately rests.

We hope we have put the argument in its clearest light; we have, at all events, honestly endeavoured to do so; and we shall proceed in this, and two or three following papers, to examine its worth.

It may save not a little useless discussion, to state at once, that, in the main, we admit the premises, but deny the legitimacy of the conclusion. That civil rulers have nothing to do with religion, but to protect their subjects in the profession and promulgation of it, is one of those common methods of stating a general proposition, which can hardly be taken to express the exact truth. We propose to avoid the use of it on the present occasion. Christianity, in the range of its application, leaves no human function or responsibility uncovered. The governor who lives within its light is not, in respect to the duties of his office, in precisely the same position as the governor who lives beyond it. His authority is brought into a new and subordinate relation to divine truth—a new set of motives is supplied him—his official conduct must be guided by new rules—and the very end at which he should arrive becomes indefinitely enlarged. In a loose sense, he may have nothing to do with religion but to protect it; in a stricter sense, religion has much, has everything, to do with him. It must not be merely *an* object of pursuit with him, it must be *the* object exclusively. He is required, we think, by the whole tenor of revelation, to be, not merely a Christian *man*, but a Christian *magistrate*—to subject not only his personal, but his official, actions to the rule of faith—to care for the church, or, in other words, the embodied manifestation of the truth, in his public as well as in his private capacity. Every power intrusted to him—his station, his influence, his authority over property, liberty, and life—Christianity demands that he shall employ with a sole subservience to her designs, and with a direct view to her advantage. We cheerfully admit thus much; nay, we are equally concerned with our opponents to insist upon it; but, proceeding on these premises, we can discover no path leading either to a national profession of faith, or to state endowments of divine truth.

We need not be told, that a bare assertion of our inability to connect together a train of reasoning with the conclusion it is adduced to support, will avail nothing for our cause. We know it. We do not intend to content ourselves with bare assertion. We purpose, on the contrary, to show whither the premises conduct us, and in what ends they have a perfect fulfilment—and also to demonstrate, by the analogy of faith, that they cannot bear us onward a single step in the direction of state-churchism. The argument employed, and the concession made, in the foregoing paragraphs have a meaning and an application—these we shall point out—but that meaning and application so far from justifying state establishments of Christianity, actually oppose it—and this we shall do our best to substantiate.

Before we set about the task we have chalked out for ourselves, we would suggest to the advocates of establishments the propriety of looking well before they leap. Unless they have thoroughly satisfied themselves that their conclusion is both legitimate and necessary, we request them to pause, and ponder on the danger to which it exposes the Church of Christ. The rulers of this world seldom come under the designation of religious men. It happens more frequently than not, that, even when guided by the best intentions, they are very incompetent judges of what is or what is not divine truth. But, according to the argument, they are bound to profess and to support the faith of God. Aye! it will be said, but it must be that faith in its purity. Be it so! Now, supposing them to err, the evil unfortunately befalls not them, but the church. They are not infallible. Their position is one of great temptation. Their means for arriving at a correct judgment are not superior to those possessed by private Christians, who, in almost every important article of belief, differ from each other. Can Christ have constituted that their duty, in reference to his kingdom, which not to fulfil is awfully injurious to religion, and which to fulfill to the letter requires preternatural powers of perception and discrimination? Would he have exposed his church to such serious peril? If he had laid this obligation upon the potentates of the earth, would he not, also, have made suitable provision for their special enlightenment? Has not the civil magistrate professed and endowed error in far more instances than truth? Have not his mistakes been serious, both in themselves and in their consequences? And whilst human nature, and especially unsanctified nature, remains what it is, must it not always be so? Such considerations as these, although alone they prove nothing, ought, at all events, to beget caution in adopting maxims fraught with peril so tremendous. We commend them to our opponents as worth a thought at all events—and, for ourselves, we declare, in the outset, that if this profession of faith for the nation be indeed the duty of civil magistrates, they may very feelingly adopt the language of Wolsey:—

"O, 'tis a burden, Cromwell,
Too great for man to bear—Too much honour."

THE OLD ENEMY AGAIN.

THE "Charitable Trusts Bill" of last year is once more before Parliament, having been read a first time in the House of Lords; and, unless due vigilance be used, will creep through both Houses, under cover of the excitement created by commercial reform. We have examined it with some attention, and find it to be substantially, and in all its objectionable features, the same measure as that which was withdrawn last session. Easy as it would have been to introduce a clause securing Dissenters from annoyances by this Bill, and loudly as they protested last May against a measure which subjected all their religious trusts, their meeting-houses, schools, and burial-grounds, to the vexatious intermeddling of "charity commissioners," nothing of the kind has been attempted. An outline of the bill, which we then drew up, describes with accuracy the provisions of the present measure. We make no scruple, therefore, of re-producing it for the information of our friends:—

"It is intituled 'An Act for securing the due administration of Charitable Trusts in England and Wales.' It gives power to the Lord Chancellor to appoint two masters in chancery, and a barrister-at-law, of not less that ten years' standing, as 'the commissioners of charities,' and two inspectors; and to the commissioners, subject to the approbation of the Treasury, authority to appoint a secretary, clerks, messengers, and officers, at discretion.

"The commissioners are to have jurisdiction in all cases of breach of trust, where the property does not exceed £100 a year, and may exercise it upon the petition, in writing, of any informant, or the report of any inspector. They may cite the parties charged with the breach before them, examine and determine matters summarily, and establish, with the consent of the special visitor, if any, any scheme for the application of the revenues of such trust, as to them shall seem fit, and that without appeal. They are also authorised to order sale, mortgage, or lease of land, rent-charges, &c., upon application from the trustees of any charity; to appoint new trusteess, where such may now be appointed by the Court of Chancery; to remove existing trustees for breach of trust, or neglect of duty; and to fill up vacancies occasioned by death. The office copy of order is to be sufficient evidence of the appointment of trustees, in whom estates may be vested for charitable purposes without conveyance. The trustees are to have the power of removing *any schoolmaster or mistress, or other officer of any charity*, deemed to be negligent in the performance of duty; and *where charitable funds cannot be applied as directed by the donor, the commissioners may settle a scheme for the application of it*

"They are empowered to make regulations concerning the form and manner of the accounts to be kept and rendered; the returns to be made, and the vouchers to be produced; and to make inquiry, inspection, and examination into the administration of charitable trusts, as they may deem necessary; or to delegate that power to an inspector. They may transfer stock into the name of the Accountant-general, or pay charity-money into the Bank in his name; and will thenceforth, be discharged from all liability in respect of the same. Penalties are awarded to all persons refusing to appear, or to be examined before the commissioners. Disobedient officers and trustees are liable to be removed. Trustees of Church of England charities, or, in other words, all parochial trustees, are to make the following declaration:—'I do declare that I am really and *bonâ fide* a member of the united Church of England and Ireland, as by law established.' Charity receipts and expenditure are to be audited annually, and transmitted to the commissioners, who are required every three years to report to the Crown. Deeds relating to charities are to be registered and kept in safe custody; and trustees are to be indemnified for all acts done by them under direction of the commissioners."

The Dissenters, of course, cannot let this arbitrary scheme be smuggled noiselessly through Parliament.

But it is necessary that they should be early, nay, instantly astir. Their independent hold upon their own property is at stake. The sanctuaries which they have built, the schools which they have endowed, the religious trusts which they have created, in the exercise of the voluntary principle, must not be allowed to pass under the management and control of state-appointed functionaries. We give them timely warning that they may be on the alert. Next week, we may be able to place before them some practical suggestions calculated to meet the emergency of the case.

BRITISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION MEETING AT CAMBERWELL.*

A meeting was held on Wednesday evening last at Mansion-house Chapel, Camberwell, which was very numerously attended. The chair was filled by Mr. John Burnet, and addresses delivered by Messrs. Conder, Miall, and Kingsley. No resolutions were proposed; but the objects of the Society were explained, and its claims enforced, by the several speakers. Mr. Conder chiefly confined himself to pointing out the evils connected with state-churchism.

Mr. Miall: I shall begin the few remarks I have to address to you this evening with two assumptions, not unwarranted, I trust, and not likely to lead to any very dangerous conclusions:—First, That this audience is composed of individuals holding a variety of opinions upon the question that has brought us together. Some, possibly the majority, are persons having decided opinions in favour of the Anti-state-church Association; some, being Dissenters, objecting to that Association, either on account of its object, or on account of the particular machinery which it employs; and a few, perhaps, members of the Establishment, who deem it incumbent on them to hear that which is to be advanced by the enemies of their system. I think I may make another assumption,—That whatever variety of opinion there may be in the present assembly respecting the great question which has now brought us together, that your very presence in this place is a guarantee that you are open to reason and to appeal; that, however decided may be your judgment upon the materials that have already been placed before you, you are not so bigoted and prejudiced as to refuse to consider any additional materials that may be put before you by the advocates of this Association; that you will listen before you strike; that you will hear what we have to say before condemning; and that, having heard our arguments, you will retire from this place to exercise your own minds and judgment upon what has been brought before you. Now, believing this is the state of the case, I shall rather attempt to converse with you, than to make a speech. I wish to put the few ideas which are presented to my own mind so clearly, so definitely, so angularly, if I may so express it, before your minds, as that whatever may be your ultimate judgment respecting their soundness, you shall be utterly unable to mistake either the object of this Association or the means which it intends to employ. Whenever an association comes before the public to ask pecuniary support, or moral sanction, the very first questions which men put, and which they ought to be encouraged to put, is, What are you driving at? What is the precise end at which you aim? I may here be permitted to say thus much respecting the title of the Society. It is unfortunately rather antagonistic; in this respect only I agree with the objection advanced by the preceding speaker, that some other title had probably been better. But it explicitly states its object. People can make no mistake about it. It is bold, uncompromising—not mealy-mouthed. I like everything to be straightforward and above-board. I love that which appears in its very front to be what it proposes to do. I don't think we should have done well to come with a smooth title before the public, which might charm some who are not altogether in favour of our design, when, in fact, our character would be otherwise than that which our title would imply. But what is our object? Well, perhaps I had better state, first of all, what it is not. Of course, no Dissenter would expect it is the intention of this Association to throw down the churches of the land in the ordinary sense of the word—to overturn the buildings, and appropriate the property to our own use, and turn out the congregations that now usually assemble in them. No Churchman, surely, would suspect us of a design so unjust as this. Neither do we intend anything against the Episcopalian sect. We interfere with no matters of doctrine or discipline. Our simple object has not so much reference to men, or bodies of men, as to Christianity itself—to the moral instrumentality appointed by the Great Head of the church for the regeneration of the world. The employment of any but purely moral instrumentality, is, we think, opposed to the spirit of the gospel and its express directions. There are many good people who object to this Association because its operations will interfere with their spirituality of mind. These good people will go into the shop, and engage in trade—and some of them are very keen too in these matters—and yet they will not aid us in restoring the spirituality of the church, because it interferes with their spirituality of mind! I say that a work like this brings all a man's spiritual faculties into the liveliest exercise. If anywhere he can pray fervently, here he may do so. If he would exercise faith, surely the magnitude of the work may give him abundant room for it. If he desires his Christian love to be strengthened, and brought out into more full and and decided development, then that love which regards the real and eternal interests of the whole world, will surely exercise itself here. This, then, is our object—no more. We have nothing further in view. We wish to accomplish this object as quickly and as quietly as we can. If it could be effected by some providential interposition—if we could wake up one morning and find our work accomplished, so far from being disappointed, we should fall down upon our knees, and most heartily thank God for having spared us an arduous and self-denying work. Now, as to the means, to which so many object—meeting together—organising an association. Why object to this? You do not object to it in other cases. If organisation is right in every other case, why is it wrong in this? and, if it is wrong in this case, why is it not wrong in all? We purpose to use no violence—no anger, to call in question no man's motives, to do our work in a religious Christian spirit. Well, then, if this be the case, why are you not all members of this Association. We are looking forward anxiously to the glorious time predicted, when Christ shall take to himself his great power and reign—when the ark of the covenant shall rest only on the shoulders of the Levites; and the affairs of the church be no more managed by men of the world. If you share with us in these desires, give us your help. Don't be ashamed of being in "ridiculous minorities." All good men have been there once. Don't be afraid of losing your respectability. Take up your cross—if this be a cross—and follow Christ. Be especially careful that you do not neglect to follow guidance of Providence in these times, that you may enjoy a little worldly reputation.

Mr. Kingsley said: After the lucid expositions and solemn appeals that you have heard from the gentlemen who preceded me, I should consult my own feelings, and perhaps yours too, by saying nothing; I will, therefore, make only a few remarks. This meeting seems to be an exception to the fact, which I have observed with great pain since I have been in this country—the apathy of Dissenters generally with regard to the principle of dissent, which is, opposition to state-churchism. If there were a perfect understanding and a hearty recognition of that principle, such meetings as this would be quite unnecessary; and indeed, they are not desirable, because there is connected with them much excitement, and much that would prevent our forming those calm, clear conclusions which are absolutely necessary in order to carry out the objects which we propose to ourselves. The Dissenters of this country seem unwilling to give their distinguishing principle, voluntaryism, that prominence which it deserves. I call it the distinguishing principle of dissent, because you cannot give a definition of dissent which does not make this a prominent feature. It is the very essence of dissent; and religion, I think, derives a great advantage from the fact, that Dissenters are sometimes obliged to give this principle prominence—the advantage that philosophy derives from a new classification. It puts before the mind the great principle of personality—individuality—which the Christian religion teaches and enforces in every possible way. Christianity regards man individually, not in the mass. It requires that its truths should operate upon the hearts and consciences of individuals. It does not seek wholesale conversions. It does not regard anything national—but looks at man as man, appeals to us as individuals, and holds us personally responsible for the opinions we form. It is very important in the present day, that we should bear this in mind, because there are several systems of philosophy, and a pantheistic theology, that talk a good deal about universal man, and have for their object the merging of the individual in the mass. There was great wisdom in that law of the Athenian legislator, rendering it criminal for any of the people to be neutral on the great questions discussed in the state. Its territorial jurisdiction was very limited, and the number of its citizens was small; but the advantage of this law was soon exhibited in the success of the state. It was owing to the operation of this measure, that the Athenians were able, under the command of Miltiades, to check the Persian invasion at the battle of Marathon. Every man was a patriot, understood the principles of Government, and felt a deep interest in the welfare of the commonwealth; and thus, all being banded together, the mighty despot was beaten back. So it is with the kingdon of Christ. It is a law of that kingdom—implied, if not expressed—that none of its subjects should be neutral upon a question that affects its interests. To carry the analogy further—this kingdom is small in extent, though destined to be ultimately universal; and, humanly speaking, it can only be successful, or indeed only exist, by the deep interest which all its members take in its prosperity. Give practical effect, then, to your principles. Identify yourselves with voluntaryism, for although it is often cried out, "Measures, not men!" yet we are in the habit of regarding men as the exponents of opinions; and therefore let the public understand that we are Dissenters, and read our principles, as it were, on our front. Give all the support in your power to this Association, in pursuing its great object, the total disconnexion of the church from the state, the liberation of religion from the thraldom that now fetters its movements, and the giving civil liberty and equality to those who have been hitherto grievously treated in this respect. I must add one word for my own country—unfortunate Ireland! In the words your chairman used on one occasion, "It is high time the fangs of state-churchism should be loosed from the ulcerated sores of Ireland."

You tread the land that bore you;
The flag of truth is o'er you;
The friends you've tried are by your side,
And the state-church foe before you!

The Chairman: I will now release you, but not so with the Association; that has still great claims upon you. Why should not every one of you enrol his name before he leaves to-night? "It's all very well, but —" But what? Don't reason so; it will spoil your intellectual faculties; it will derange the excellence of your mental operations. If you approve of its object and spirit, why, then, give it your best support. There are some tracts we have published, that you can buy as you go out. We would give them away, in order to spiritualise men's minds, but we can't afford it. The Society is doing a spiritual work, but it wants temporal means. We look to you for them.

* We had made no provision for more than a brief outline of this meeting, but the above report has been kindly furnished us by the editor of the *Reformer*, for whose publication it was originally prepared.

The Scottish Dissenters.—A few gentlemen, of various Dissenting denominations, who were invited by circulars, met with the Scottish Board of Dissenters last (Friday) night, in the Rev. Mr. Innis's chapel, Elder-street, Bailie Duncan in the chair. The meeting was opened with prayer, by Mr. Innis; after which Mr. Greig addressed the meeting on the means to be used by them for propagating their principles. He proposed to raise a sum of £500 in Scotland; namely, £100 in Edinburgh, £200 in Glasgow, and the rest throughout other parts of Scotland. This, he was quite satisfied, could be easily raised by missions to the different towns, which would tend to rouse their brethren, and to create a national interest in the proceedings, and not leave it entirely to Edinburgh, as had so long been the case, and with this sum they would be enabled to send delegates to London, and be prepared to defend their rights in case of an emergency. This plan met the general approval of the meeting, as was shown by several speakers. Mr. Neil then proposed, that the meeting should show the example by raising a sum towards the fund, which was agreed to, and about £26 raised by the small party present—*Edinburgh Chronicle.*

Anti-state-church Society.—A meeting in connexion with this society is announced to take place on Friday night, at the Public-rooms, Broadmead. Among the speakers who are expected, is Mr. Miall and Dr. Price.—*Bristol Mercury.*

Anti-state-church Society.—We understand that a meeting of this society will be held in this city, on Thursday next, and we believe in Somerset-street Chapel, in consequence of the Assembly-rooms being pre-engaged that evening for the ball. The Society, we understand, would have applied for the Guildhall, but some of the members of the Council, who were requested to ask the Mayor's permission, objected on account of the corporate oath. But any oath that stands in the way of such a meeting being held in the Guildhall, is broken by any councillor being a member of the Anti-state-church Society.—*Bath Journal.*

Dissensions among the Jews.—A disruption has taken place among the Jews of London, which promises to be productive of momentous results. It appears that for some time past a feeling has been growing up among the more enlightened and liberal of the English Jews, that very great reform ought to be made in the ritual of the synagogue, and that they are not bound to abide by the interpretations given by the rabbis, but are at liberty to put their own construction on difficult passages. As a necessary consequence, they repudiate the authority of the Talmud, and resolve to acknowledge no other standard of truth than the law and the prophets. The result has been, that great divisions have occurred among the Jewish congregations in the metropolis. A number of the seceders have opened a new synagogue for themselues in Burton-street, where they statedly meet for worship. Mr. Goldsmid, and several of the most influential persons belonging to the Jewish persuasion, have joined the new sect.—*The Balance.*

Proposed Evangelical Alliance.—At a meeting of the London division of the Provisional Committee, held yesterday, upwards of sixty ministers and laymen of the Established Church, and the Wesleyan, Congregational, and other evangelical churches, were admitted as members or corresponding members—in the number his Grace the Duke of Manchester. The 31st of March has been appointed as the day for the next aggregate meeting of the divisional committees, to be held at Birmingham; and, after much consideration, the 19th of August has been agreed upon as the day for the first assembling of the proposed Conference in the metropolis.—*Watchman.*

The Vicar of Lowestoft, and Tithe on Fish.—On Friday afternoon, February the 20th, the churchwardens and constables entered the house of Mr. Roberts, in this town, and took thirteen chairs and a table to satisfy the demand of the vicar, the Rev. F. Cunningham, for a proportion of the mackerel caught during the last season, of the value of 10s. 3d., and for the expenses incident upon the seizure of the said goods. The custom of allowing the vicar such share of the fish caught, though of considerable standing, has been shown not to possess sufficient evidence to give it legal force; nothwithstanding this, the vicar, presuming, as it appears, on the favour of the local magistrates, and the comparatively powerless position of the objectors, has caused the warrant to be issued and carried into effect. The persons who have thus withstood this injustice, have the satisfaction of knowing, that already the fact works well upon the minds of the fish-merchants and towns-people; the injustice has been rendered palpable, and what mere argument could not do, the sight of the impounded chairs has effected; sympathy has begun to work—indignation has begun to rise—and many of the fish-merchants have determined to submit to similar distraints rather than pay the illegal demand.—*From a Correspondent.*

Church-rate Struggle in Stepney.—The parish of Stepney has again been thrown into a state of excitement by an attempt to levy a church-rate, notwithstanding that it has been repeatedly refused, and more than £2,000 contributed on the understanding that it would not be again demanded; while it has now been sought for the first time to include the repairs of the district church of St. Philip's. On the present occasion the church-rate party have put forth the most unprecedented exertions; but, notwithstanding every circumstance, fair and unfair, in their favour, have been again soundly beaten. The poll took place on Thursday and Friday. At its close the numbers were, against the rate, 1,620; for it, 1,510; majority, 110. An enthusiastic meeting of the victorious voluntaries was held in the evening, at the Central Committee-room, when it was resolved to hold a public congratulatory entertainment, and as it was reported that the churchwardens intended to resort to the Ecclesiastical Courts, it was also resolved, that a parochial protection society should be immediately formed.

The Canton de Vaud.—Druey has sent to the several Governments of Europe the official documents relating to the affair of the *clergé de missionnaire* of Vaud. The Prussian Minister has in reply addressed

remonstrances to Druey, and the King has sent the clergy a donation of about £500. The English Minister has hitherto sent no money, but has forwarded a note from Lord Aberdeen, in which he says that the transmission of the documents in question to the English Government leave them no alternative but that of expressing their disapprobation and regret at the measures which had been taken by the Council of State of Vaud, and which may be of a nature to endanger the liberty of Switzerland.

The German Catholics.—In a letter to the President of the Christian Catholic commune, dated Breslau, Feb. 3, Ronge announces:—"I am delighted to have it in my power to impart the happy news that Czerski has joined the other Christian Catholic communes, in the same manner that he joined us at Leipsic. Post, preacher at Posen, has done the same. The junction took place at Rawitch, on the 3rd instant."

THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

THE CORN-LAW DEBATE.

ELEVENTH DAY.

Mr. Ross opened the debate on Thursday evening with a short speech in favour of the Government proposition.

Mr. Beckett Denison (who seconded the address on the opening of Parliament) complained of Mr. Ferrand for stating to the House that Sir Robert Peel, in asking him to second the address, had deceived him as to the measures to be brought forward. Nothing of the kind had been done; and he believed that Sir Robert Peel was altogether incapable of deceiving anybody. Mr. Denison expected that a similar measure to that of 1842 would be submitted; but he frankly owned that he did not expect that a total abolition of the corn-laws would be proposed, even accompanied by the sliding-scale for a period of three years. He could not support such a measure, and must consequently vote against the Minister. Mr. Denison explained his views at considerable length on the subject of the corn-laws: he had never supported the principle of protection for the sake of the landlords—he had done so solely from the belief that its application was essential to the well-being of the working classes. He denied that the return of Lord Morpeth for the West Riding of Yorkshire was a true index of opinion there on the subject: this would be seen at the next general election.

Mr. Brotherton spoke in support of free-trade.

Mr. Christopher had supported Sir Robert Peel for twenty years except on two occasions—in 1829, and in the present year; he felt it painful to be obliged to differ from him again; but Sir Robert had made out no case in favour of so sweeping a change. He acknowledged the advantages of a strong Government; but he would infinitely rather see a weak and powerless Government controlled by a strong Opposition, such as existed before the accession of the present Ministry to power, than see affairs so managed that it was impossible for any man to say what a day or an hour might bring forth. As to the law of settlement, if the proposal respecting it were found practicable, he should support it.

Mr. Cardwell (the Secretary to the Treasury) made his first appearance as a disputant on the corn-law question, and showed a mastery of the subject, while he clothed his argument in clear and neat expression. He contended that the corn-laws had not answered the purpose intended, whether as regarded the farmer or the labourer; and foretold, that their abolition would permanently and largely promote the prosperity of all interests, including the agricultural.

Mr. Finch and Mr. Seymer (one of the new members for Dorsetshire) spoke in favour of protection.

Mr. Villiers turned his animated speech principally on the personal relations and party tactics of the debate:—

He claimed Mr. Seymer as a free-trade supporter ["No, no!" from the Protection benches]. Did the honourable gentleman deny that he ever stated, in the county of Dorset, he was for immediate repeal?

Mr. Seymer: I said, that I would, so far as my humble abilities went, oppose to the utmost this measure of her Majesty's Ministers; and I said, that, failing in my opposition to them, I thought upon the whole, if we were to have a repeal of the corn-laws at the end of three years—if we could not succeed in preventing that—it would be better to have it at once.

Mr. Villiers continued. The statement now made proved the accuracy of the newspaper reports. Mr. Seymer admitted, that if the corn-laws were to be repealed, it would be far better to have them repealed immediately than at the end of three years. Mr. Villiers, therefore, claimed him as one of his supporters, and maintained that he ought to vote for the motion which he intended to bring forward. Mr. Seymer had told the House that a great number of farmers were supporters of protection, but, holding land under landlords of Liberal politics, had referred to their landlords before they gave their suffrages; and he had told, also, that those landlords gave them leave to vote as they wished; but Mr. Seymer did not give one proof that the tenant-farmers were independent. He said, that they were loyal and well-affected. The farmers, no doubt, were a very estimable, good sort of people, speaking generally; and, considering the temptations to which they were exposed by the violent, disloyal, and disaffected language of the upper classes, from the highest to the lowest [cries of "Oh, oh!" from the Protection benches drowned the conclusion of the sentence]. The farmers' complaints were not against the state; they had a good domestic grievance which they were anxious their landlords should redress; and they were too sensible a set of men to be influenced by the violent and interested language of their landlords.

The aspect of the House at the present moment presented a striking contrast to what took place on the passing of the corn-law in 1815. In that year the bill was passed as quickly as the forms of Parliament would allow. The people were crying out against its enactment in the streets; soldiers surrounded the House; and members complained that time was not allowed them to present the petitions forwarded against it: so quickly did that act for the benefit of the rich pass. But now, when the Protectionists were called upon to rescind that law in the face of a scarcity of food for the people, the debate had been more protracted than any within memory. Mr. Villiers did not think he would be doing justice to his constituents if he did not, on their behalf, express his joy and satisfaction at the concession which had at length been made, and to the wisdom, the truth, and the justice of the proposition, and the avowals which had been made by her Majesty's Ministers. As to the opprobrium and abuse which had been heaped on Sir Robert Peel for proposing the measure, Mr. Villiers thought that he had not submitted it willingly, or from any fault of his own. He had proposed it after being convinced that it was right, and after having offered to others the task of proposing it if they chose. Public opinion rejoiced at seeing the Minister act so independent a part:—

He has thrown off those trammels of insolent domination which threatened him, that if he ventured to touch this subject—if he ventured to deal with the privileges of their party—he should no longer continue in the service of the state [cheers]. The right hon. gentleman, under a sense of what was his duty to his country, seems to me to have disregarded their determination, and to have come forward and proposed a measure calculated to advance the interests of the whole community, and upon the community let him throw himself for support [cheers]. I believe that the public generally are delighted to see the Minister relieve himself at last from the trammels of a class [cheers]. And I further believe, that they will carry him through, not only with this measure, but in every measure in which he will consult the public interest, and will have the boldness and courage to propose popular measures [hear, hear].

The measure was imperfect; but, looking at the opposition which it had encountered from the gentlemen opposite, he had no doubt that the country would accept that opposition as an apology for its deficiences and incompleteness:—

Those honourable gentlemen on the Protectionist benches are not aware what service they are rendering to the right honourable gentleman, what popularity they are gaining for this measure, and how much they are raising the feeling of the people against themselves. I believe that all the violence, all the passion that have been exhibited on that side of the House with respect to this measure, has endeared it more than ever to the public; and every member who rises to declare that he will not support this measure of great public advantage, elevates the right hon. gentleman on the pinnacle of public admiration [cheers].

And look at the amendment:—

It is no discussion of any particular measure; there is no dissent from any particular part of the scheme proposed, but it is a general sweeping amendment, which says, "Away with it altogether, we will have none of it" [cheers and counter cheers]. It does not say that there are many parts of the scheme which would be highly beneficial to England; that you know there is a large portion of the people who have not the means of subsistence, and to whom this measure would afford relief, but simply and solely because itincludes one article with which you deal, and from which you derive your income, you say that you will have none of it [cheers and cries of "No," from the Protectionists]. Why do you say "No;" but I ask if many of you have not said that some parts of the scheme are most excellent, and would be most desirable? I ask if you have not, at some of your Protection meetings, stated that several of the propositions included in this measure would be most beneficial to the public ["No, no," from the Protectionists]? No? Why, I can point to two or three counties where your lords and squires came forward and used those very words [cheers and cries of "Name"]. Yes, I will name. Why look at Hertfordshire. Lord Essex stated that Indian corn would be one of the greatest boons to agriculture that was ever conferred upon it. You admit that it is a boon to agriculture, but because you have such a dread of giving food to the people, you will not allow those who want to feed their cattle to give the measure its support [cheers, and expressions of dissent from the Protectionists]. You may shake your heads, but I say that it is so [hear]. I am justified in saying that you oppose this measure *in toto*, because it affects the single article of corn. You say the Irish people may starve [cries of "No, no," from the Protectionists]. Oh, that is very well now. You say, you would open the ports, I dare say. But since when have you said that [cheers]? Since you have discovered that there is nothing to come in [hear, hear]. There was no talk of it till the autumn. You had your meetings, and you denied that there was a scarcity. The apprehension was nothing but the basest cowardice on the part of the Government. "Afraid," you said, "afraid of the people starving! Why, was there ever such a Government as this? Was there ever such a miserable turpitude?" This is what you stated then; but now you have discovered that grain is actually going out of this country to neighbouring states, and that there is such a scarcity on the continent that there is no more grain to come in, and so now you state, and the honourable member for Bristol says, "God forbid that we should prevent anything coming in to save the people" [cheers]. Well, if that be so, I do not understand what you mean by saying "No, no," when I assert that you are trying to oppose all the measures comprehended in this scheme [hear].

Mr. Villiers then commented on several of the speeches made by Lord Stanley some years ago in Lancashire, when he admitted that the corn-laws raised rents and raised the prices of food, but did not raise the rate of wages. Such was the system for which the landowners of England were fighting; and that was the system which rendered the prosperous farmer "so rare a bird that he was to be stuffed and sent as a curiosity to the British Museum," and the labourer so demoralised, that his wretched condition had passed into a bye-word. After adverting to the injurious effects of high prices, Mr. Villiers commented on the opinions expressed by Mr. Stafford O'Brien, Mr. Philip Miles, the *Quarterly Review*, the *Standard*, and the *Morning Herald*, as to the propriety of discouraging the extension of manufactures, and limiting the supplies of food. And yet it was proposed, by persons entertaining such opinions, that they should form a Government! But how did they propose to carry it out?—

You depend upon your territorial influence, the county constituencies, and the House of Lords. You think that by your influence with the counties, and some boroughs, and with the influence of the House of Lords, you will be able to throw out this measure of the Government and to uphold monopoly. This it is which has induced you to keep up the debate for eleven days, and it is with a hope of effecting that object that you will go to the division to-morrow night. You hope by those means, by your influence with dependent votes, and the support of the House of Lords, to throw out the Government measure. But let me ask, did you ever consider this question in all its bearings [hear, hear]? The corn-laws must be supported now by force or by opinion [ironical cheers from the Protectionists]. You already tried by force to support it. You tried force when the law was introduced, and four years after it was carried you maintained it by force [hear, hear]. The people were cut down in this town for resisting that law, and at Manchester also, in 1819, four years after its enactment, they were cut down for resisting it [hear, hear]. They were threatened in 1830, but you could not put down the people by force, and in 1839, when the people were disappointed and discontented with the results of the Reform Bill, you were enabled to persuade them not to press for a repeal of the corn-laws. That it was which gave rise to the Anti-corn-law League. Your protective societies were formed for the purpose of deluding and deceiving the people by every means which could lead them astray with respect to the subject of the corn-laws. Everything which could distract the minds of the people on that subject was done by the protection societies. That gave rise to the Anti-corn-law League; that caused them to exert themselves as they had done; that it was which led them to do so much in circulating, not their own notions, but the deliberate opinions of the most enlightened men that ever the country produced, and induced them to make those extraordinary exertions which the country had witnessed to obtain the abolition of all restrictions on commerce, and in particular the total abolition of your corn-laws [cheers]. I have described the position in which the question is placed, and it is quite clear that you cannot at this moment support it by force, or delusion, or persuasion [cheers]; so if you wish to support it, you must do it by other means [hear, hear]. If you do then desire to support it by other means, I ask you whether you have taken any security whatever against the recurrence of another period of scarcity [hear, hear]? If a season of scarcity should occur again, and that the people, under the pressure of that scarcity, should call upon you for universal suffrage, or if it should so happen that the people should rise up in arms against the Government, what state would such a Government as you could form be placed in under such circumtances [hear, hear]? A Government with a noble duke at its head [laughter], and consisting of some honourable gentlemen whom I see opposite [renewed laughter]—what position would such a Government find itself in with a period of scarcity and tumult in the land, and the responsibility placed upon them of restoring and maintaining peace and order [hear, hear]? Can we suppose any persons in a more horrible—I will not say despicable—but in a more horrible or miserable situation [hear, hear, and cheers]? Should you not do as you did in 1841? Should you not come to the right honourable baronet the member for Tamworth, and pray of him to take the reins of power and restore a state of peace and order [cheers].

Mr. Villiers concluded by calling upon the Protectionists to give a hearty concurrence in the enlightened measure now submitted to their acceptance, and by so doing make their peace with the people. If they lost the opportunity, he predicted they would follow the fate of every person and class who had tyrannised over the English race and nation.

The debate was then adjourned till Friday.

TWELFTH DAY.

On Friday night the debate was re-opened by Mr. G. Bankes, who maintained that the free-trade measures of the Government could only be carried by an unprincipled union of Ministerialists and Radicals. He strongly urged upon the Government the propriety of appealing to the country before proceeding further.

Mr. Beckham Escott made a spirited and able speech in favour of the Government scheme. He adverted to one of the arguments which had been adduced by Sir Robert Inglis the other night, *quieta non movere*, the country was in a happy and flourishing condition; why, then, should we interfere when there was no occasion for legislation? Mr. B. Escott stated most forcibly the amount of distress which existed, not only in Ireland, but in England, and in his own immediate neighbourhood. He declared to the House, upon his conscience, and to the best of his belief, that unless some efficient means were adopted, before three months had elapsed the quiet of which Sir Robert Inglis had spoken would be the quiet of the grave.

Captain Gladstone supported the amendment.

Mr. Cobden then rose, and was received with loud cheers from both sides of the House. When Mr. Cobden arose to address the House, the Protectionists sate huddled together in their corner, mute for the moment, and as though with a presentiment that their hour was come. The honourable gentleman began in a low voice, which, however, gathered strength as he went on and warmed to his subject; but from the first, so perfectly still and quiet was the assembly, that not a word was lost. He commenced by stating, that he had carefully read over every word of the debate, although he had been unable to attend the House in person, and it appeared to him that it might be conveniently distributed under two heads. The first was merely the invective of an angry party against the chief whom they had lost; the second treated mainly of the propriety of appealing to the country before legislating on this measure, and slightly on the merits of the case. Now, it appeared to him that this introduction of the appeal to the country was extraneous matter; but since they had chosen that ground, upon that ground he would meet them. Before, however, dealing with the point, Mr. Cobden touched on the self-defeating personalities to which the Protectionists resorted, in their inability to justify their law. If they feared ulterior measures, they were doing their best to arm Ministers for such measures:—

The more they attack them—the more obloquy they load them with—the more will the country sympathise with them out of doors. Why, you are making the present Ministry the most popular men in the country. If the right hon. baronet, the First Lord of the Treasury, were to go into the manufacturing districts of the north, his journey would be one continued triumph. The right hon. Home Secretary was not personally very popular two or three years ago: it is a difficult thing for a Home Secretary in troublesome times to become popular; but the magnificent contribution the right hon. baronet has given to our good cause, by his able speeches and authoritative statements of facts, has sunk deep into the mind of the country; and, spite of the martyrdom you are inflicting upon him, he has rendered himself so popular, that I don't think we could parade any one in Manchester or Liverpool who would meet with a more cordial reception.

The Protectionists have made the question turn on the demand for a dissolution of Parliament in order to an "appeal to the country"—a very democratic doctrine! But they will not have a numerical majority at the next election. Three months ago they might have had, but not now, their party is broken up.

I ought to know as much of the state of the representation and the registration throughout the country as any man in the House [loud cheers from both sides], and having given so much attention to this matter, I wholly deny that you have the slightest chance of getting a numerical majority in this House if you dissolve Parliament [hear, hear]. I would not have said so three months ago, for, at a public meeting in the country, about that period, I made distinct acknowledgment that we must not look for a majority from the first dissolution [hear]. But your party is broken up, although you say you may stand up for it in Dorsetshire and Buckinghamshire; but what would be the effect when all the men of authority and influence and intelligence in it have left it [loud cheers]? What would be the effect of this disaffection in the boroughs and in the population of the north? I have already told you that the Conservatives in the towns of the north of England were not for the Duke of Richmond, but that they followed the section of the right honourable gentleman, the Prime Minister, almost to a man [hear, hear]. Every one acquainted with the towns in the north of England is aware, that of the Conservative party in them four-fifths would follow the right honourable gentleman every where, and the remaining one-fifth would follow the Duke of Richmond or the party below the gangway [hear, hear]. This disruption of party will have a most important effect on many places. The section of Conservatives in the manufacturing districts of the north are almost all in favour of free-trade, and this the language they have used to Free-traders like myself:—"Sir Robert Peel will do so at the proper time, and at the proper time he will give us free-trade" [loud cheers]. Thus, I say, in this state of parties, I deny the possibility of a numerical majority against us in a new Parliament [cheers].

Even assuming, for a moment, for the sake of argument (although he utterly denied the fact), that they could obtain a numerical majority in that house, of whom would that majority, and of whom would the minority, be composed?—

There is the metropolis returning eighteen members to this House; there are also two members for the metropolitan county. We have the whole twenty—every one of them [loud cheers], representing 110,000 constituents, and a population of 2,000,000 [hear, hear]—a population the most intelligent, the most wealthy, and the most orderly, and I also know, for I am well acquainted with them, the hardest worked people in England [hear, hear]. Is this public opinion [hear, hear]? This metropolis, centuries ago, possessed great privileges, and amongst others they claimed and exercised the right to close the gates of the city on the Sovereign, and this privilege is still kept up on state occasions. Now, this metropolis is twenty times as populous, and twenty times as important, as it was centuries ago; do you think that such a metropolis will consent to be considered as nothing in an estimate of public opinion [hear, hear]? But let us turn elsewhere; look to Edinburgh [hear, hear]. Do you expect to have a member for Edinburgh in your glorious majority [hear, hear]? Will you have a representative from Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham [hear, hear]? Take any town with above 20,000 inhabitants, and I defy you to show me that you could return a single member from any one of them [cheers, and "Oh, oh," from the Protectionists]. At any rate, this would be the case in any town with 25,000 inhabitants. You have not now any town with you with 25,000 inhabitants [cries of "Oh, oh," "Liverpool," "Bristol," from the Protectionist members]. No, not at all—not at all. You have neither Liverpool nor Bristol [hear, hear]. No, you cannot show a single instance, I say [renewed cries of "Oh, oh"]. Do not suppose that you can disprove this by shouting here, like a schoolboy whistling in a churchyard, to keep up your courage [cheers and laughter]. Look to the facts of the case, and let your leaders weigh those facts, and you have none among you deserving to be leaders if they have not weighed the facts [hear, hear]. I say that you cannot mention a town with 25,000 inhabitants which will send up a member for your majority [hear, hear]. No doubt you will have your pocket boroughs and your nomination counties [hear]. I will now say a word or two as to the county representation; but what will you say broadly as to the situation in which you will find yourselves after a dissolution, and when assured of a majority from pocket boroughs and nomination counties, and you can drive to Parliament with such a majority of between twenty and thirty, and you will see on this side of the House the representatives of South Lancashire, of Yorkshire, of North Cheshire, and of North Lancashire [hear, hear]—of all the large towns in Scotland, not one member from them will be sent up as your supporter [hear, hear]. What would be your position [hear, hear]? You would be struck aghast at your position [cheers and cries of "Oh"], and so alarmed would you be at the situation in which you were placed, that you would come across the floor to join us in larger numbers than you now rise in opposition to your leader [cheers]. I tell you there will be no safety without it. I say it to those members who have come up from your pocket boroughs. I say it to your Chippenhams, to your Ripons, and to your Stamfords: and I tell your Woodstocks and your Marlboroughs, who now hold your seats at the will of individuals, that you could not hold them a week longer, if the country found that you would not give way to moral force, without their requiring to put you to the trouble of another "schedule A" [hear, hear].

Public opinion would be represented by that minority, while the majority would be composed of the representatives of the pocket boroughs and the nomination counties with their £50 tenants-at-will. Public opinion, said Mr. Cobden, is of such force, that in 1745 had the same unanimity existed in favour of the Stuart dynasty, as at this moment exists in favour of this measure, that dynasty would at this moment have been sitting on the throne of these realms. The amount of public opinion which is in favour of this measure, is so omnipotent and all-pervading, that it would suffice to change every existing institution in the country, and to substitute in the place of them whatsoever it would. Did honourable gentlemen doubt the fact, that public opinion was thus in favour of the measure? He appealed to the petitions which had been presented to the House—they would not receive that as a test?—he would point, then, to the public meetings which had been held in almost every county and township of the country in support of free-trade. They refused that test too? Would honourable gentlemen be satisfied with nothing short of being tossed in blankets as a test of the wishes and determination of the people of England? As to the counties, the Protectionists count unduly on their £50 tenant-at-will franchise—a recent innovation in the constitution: there are but 150,000 tenant-farmers; and the League are prepared to meet that obstacle by strengthening the forty-shilling freehold franchise—a franchise five centuries old. Had the opposite party ever reflected that half the money in the saving's banks, if invested in small freeholds, would produce a better interest—would swamp the £50 tenants-at-will, who had no independent suffrages. If the contest should unfortunately be protracted any longer, they would meet monopoly in that way, and in that way they will overcome it:—

Now, I have given you some idea of what is your prospect in the country [hear, hear]. I do not ask you to take my opinion for it [hear, hear]; but as mischief may be averted more from yourselves—more from another place to which allusion has been made—than from others, I do ask you to take those facts home, to study them for yourselves, to look over the registry, to count the population of the towns, and then to come down and say whether you think the public opinion of the country is with you or against you [cheers]?

Mr. Cobden caused much laughter by simply enumerating the exploded fallacies repeated in the debate, drain of gold, wages rising and falling with the price of corn, land thrown out of cultivation, &c., &c. Protection, in fact, is defunct:—

I will tell you what my thoughts were as I sat at home patiently reading these debates. As I read speech after speech, and saw the fallacies which I had knocked on the head seven years ago re-appearing afresh, my thought was, what fun these debates will afford to the men in fustian jackets ["Hear, hear," and laughter]. All these fallacies are perfectly transparent to these men, and they would laugh at you for putting them forward [hear, hear].

The very landlords and farmers no longer believe in it, though they keep up the farce of affecting to do so; witness the landlords' refusal to part with their land for less than thirty years' purchase at the present rental—the willingness of the farmers to take land at the same rent. Protection, indeed, is now regarded throughout the country in the same light as witchcraft—protective laws, like horse-shoes nailed to the door to keep out the witch. He, therefore, called upon the Protectionists to consider whether they could not do something better than prolong these angry conflicts with the advocates of free-trade, and tax each other for the separate benefit of their respective classes:—

Why should we not concur on this matter? Why should there be any triumph for either? I want no triumph. I want you to put an everlasting end to this system in good faith. Come down to us, and let us hold together a free-trade meeting in the Free-trade Hall in Manchester. Come to us now, Protectionists, and let us consider together, and see if we cannot do something better for our common country than carrying on this strife of parties [loud cheers]. Let us, once for all, recognise this principle, that we must not tax each other for the benefit of one particular class [cheers]. I am going to read you an authority upon this subject that will astonish you. I am now about to quote from the Duke of Wellington, from a speech delivered in the House of Lords in the year 1832, and here is his opinion upon taxation:—"He thought taxes were imposed only for the service of the state. If they were necessary for the service of the state, in God's name let them be paid; but if they were not necessary, they ought not to be paid, and the Legislature ought not to impose them" [cheers]. Now the noble and gallant Duke, without having had time to study Adam Smith or Ricardo, but from the native sagacity which is so peculiarly his characteristic, has come to the very marrow of this question. We must not (he says) attempt to tax each other for the benefit of a class [cheers]. Divest the Minister, then, of the odious task of defending an exclusive class interest; and, above all things, divest all future prime ministers of the responsibility of regulating the supply of food for the people. Mark me, you will never again find a Prime Minister of this country who will undertake that most fearful responsibility. It belongs to God and to nature, and to those laws of nature which Burke says are the laws of God and of nature—it belongs to them, and to them only, to regulate the supply of food, and of every commodity for the use of human kind. I ask honourable gentlemen to look this matter fairly in the face; and I have no doubt when it is seen that this question of the repeal of the corn-laws in three years is inevitable, they will be so anxious to meet the wishes of the farmers to put an end to this strife, and an instant end to agitation, and dissolve the League, as in good faith we will dissolve it [hear, hear]; I am sure, I say, you will be so anxious to do that, that when you see this measure is inevitable, as inevitable it is, you will join to make the measure immediate [cheers]. If you do not you will have the farmers agitating with the Anti-corn-law League [loud cheers]. Let us see then if we cannot come to the same conclusion. You are really in a position now to gain future honour and fame to yourselves. You are in this very position, especially the younger members of the party upon the opposite benches, some of them with good natural capacity, but altogether with false views. The honourable member for Northamptonshire nods, and seems to acquiesce that they have false views. You are every day diverging more and more into the groove of a false direction; and it becomes you, young men, to get right upon this great question. You will absorb much of this world's attention during the greater part of your lives. But we are now upon the eve of very great changes. Put yourselves, then, in a position to participate in the work, and help to guide and control the state. We belong to the aristocracy of human kind, not of privilege or wealth, but the aristocracy of laborious and progressive improvement [hear, hear]. We have given the world example in all great changes. We gave them the representative system [cheers]. The very rules and regulations of this House are the models of every deliberative assembly in the civilised world. We are, after giving them the example of a free press, and of civil and religious freedom in every institution belonging to freedom and civilisation, now going to give them another example greater than all [loud cheers]. We are going to set them the example of making industry free, and of giving every country in the world its full advantage of clime, of latitude, and situation. We are going, in fact, to teach the world to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets [cheers]. Do not think there is anything selfish—anything at all discordant with Christian principle in that. You will only be fulfilling the highest behests of Christianity. "To buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets"—what does it mean? It means to go to the country where an article may be bought cheap, because it is abundant, and to carry an article to a country where it is dear because it is wanted; thus equalising the bounties of Divine Providence, and giving to mankind the fullest enjoyment of earthly good; and in doing so, you are only carrying out to the fullest possible extent the Christian doctrine of doing unto others as you would have others do unto you [loud cheers].

Mr. Spooner proceeded to express the reasons which induced him to support the amendment in preference to the proposition of the Government; but the interruptions in the House were so frequent that it was impossible to follow the chain of his arguments.

Mr. P. Borthwick followed on the same side amid still greater interruptions.

Lord G. Bentinck said the objection of himself and his friends did not apply to the protection given to agriculture, but to the whole of the contemplated measures of the Government. The noble lord entered into a variety of details for the purpose of showing the beneficial effects of protection, and contended, that as the debate had now lasted twelve nights, he was the first who had entered fully into the merits of the question.

The House divided at twenty minutes to three. The numbers were:—

Ayes	337
Noes	240
Majority against it	97

The main question was then put and carried.

The House then resolved itself *pro formâ* into committee. The Chairman was ordered to report progress, and to ask leave to sit again

PERSONALITIES OF THE DEBATE.

Previously to the resumption of the debate on Thursday, Mr. Roebuck begged to ask the Protectionists when the debate was likely to terminate? especially and bitterly denouncing the idle personalities and vulgar vituperation indulged in by Mr. Ferrand, "for two hours and a half by the clock":—

If the House were to maintain its dignity, it was not to be by permitting or indulging in vulgar vituperation, or indecent menace. The honourable gentleman looked as if he had come down, like Orson with his club, to lay about him: and he indulged accordingly in furious, outspoken, mere — there were words in the English language which would express most properly his opinions of the honourable gentleman's speech, but which would be hardly in accordance with the rules or usages to which the House was accustomed, and he was therefore driven to the use of words that were less expressive but more decent [laughter and cheers]. The difficulty of finding suitable language was not raised by him, but by that person—by that honourable member who had so violated decency [loud cries of "Order, order," from the Protectionist benches]. Did they cry "Order" at him? Did they cry "Order" when the violence of which he spoke took place ["Hear, hear" from the Opposition benches]? No, they did not. And were they as a party so lost, that instead of argument they were reduced to rely on blustering and swaggering demeanour?

Sir R. Inglis angrily rejoined:—

He must say, that the precedent the honourable member had set was most inconvenient, and it seemed as if he had taken advantage of the absence of the honourable gentleman whom he had been pleased to stigmatise [much cheering]—as if he had fixed his eye on vacancy, and had therefore made an address which did not appear particularly called for [cheers]. Neither did the complaint of personal imputation come very well from the honourable member for Bath—

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

[cheers from all sides]. Did the House recollect the use the houourable member on one occasion made of his finger, when he moved it round the House, and especially marked down individual members [hear, hear]? Was not that personality [hear, hear]?

Mr. Bright then took Mr. Ferrand to task. He said "that pretty nearly every portion of what the honourable member for Knaresborough had stated with regard to Mr. George Wilson, the chairman of the Anti-corn-law League, both the facts and every particle of inference he had drawn from them, *was to be set down as utterly untrue.*"

Dr. Bowring then rose to declare, that the statement made by Mr. Busfeild Ferrand, with regard to cold-blooded cruelty, which he stated to be exercised by Mr. Henry Ashworth, of Bolton, over his workmen, was not founded on fact—*the statement was altogether untrue.*

Lord Morpeth followed to announce to the House that he had a letter in his pocket at the time Mr. Busfeild Ferrand was making his address, which directly contradicted the statement that the operatives at the Union Mill had been compelled by their masters to sign the petition for the repeal of the corn-laws. His lordship subjoined, that he had received similar letters from other quarters.

On Friday night the subject was again made the topic of explanations and recriminations.

Mr. Ferrand retorted Mr. Roebuck's charge of personality, by reminding the member for Bath that he had thrown the *Times* on to the floor of the House, recommending members on both sides to horsewhip a gentleman every way his superior—Mr. Walter. Mr. Roebuck had said, that not half a farthing would be given in the legal profession for Mr. Ferrand's opinion: Mr. Roebuck's own professional opinion is not accounted worth half a farthing, and that ill success is what rankles in his breast. Mr. Ferrand went on to pour forth more quotations about Mr. Ashworth's treatment of the factory people, and so forth.

Mr. C. Berkeley corroborated the statement of Mr. Ferrand respecting the manufacturing of petitions. He held in his hand a petition which was delivered at his house, on Wednesday last, purporting to come from Cheltenham, and to be signed by 594 inhabitants of that borough. There was, however, the Manchester post-mark on it, and that led him to make inquiries, which convinced him that the petition ought not to be presented as a petition from Cheltenham. On Monday, he would bring forward that petition as a breach of privilege, and he called on the members of the Anti-corn-law League to support him in his demand for inquiry into the source of this imposition.

Mr. Bright expressed his readiness to second Mr. C. Berkeley's intended motion for inquiry into the sources from which these fabricated petitions proceeded. After all that had fallen from Mr. Ferrand that evening, he was prepared still to say that Mr. Ferrand's statement respecting Mr. G. Wilson was unfounded. He then read a letter from a Mr. Rawsthorne, declaring that Mr. G. Wilson did not issue the circular convening the meeting of starch manufacturers at Manchester—that he did not preside at that meeting—and that no such deputation as that of which Mr. Ferrand had spoken had ever waited on the Government.

Lord John Manners testified to the admirable manner in which Mr. Ashworth conducts his mills, under a deep sense of his responsibility as one of the great Barons of the cotton system.

Mr. Roebuck did not grudge the exultation over his

ill success in life: but it had never been *his* fate to have an assembly of English gentlemen declare that his statements were false and calumnious, as the House had done and recorded in the case of Mr. Ferrand's assertions about two members.

Mr. D'Israeli said that the House had made a similar record in the case of Mr. O'Connell. As to personalities, Sir Robert Peel had accused a member of being an assassin. Why not prosecute him? These disagreeable proceedings had originated in the quarter where most disagreeable proceedings in that House did, in Mr. Roebuck:—

We know that the tree must bring forth its fruit, that a crab-tree will produce crab-apples [laughter], and that a meagre and acid mind, if it produce a pamphlet or make a speech, will give evidence of its meagre and acid intelligence [cheers and laughter]. When the honourable and learned gentleman says no one can impute to him conduct not permitted by the rules of the House, I say it is totally incorrect. I am stating what many know to be true; but perhaps the honourable and learned member has become the instructor-general as well as the inquisitor-general of the House [cheers]. I say that this melo-dramatic malignity, and Sadler's Wells sarcasm [great cheering and laughter], which are so easy to put on, this wagging of the finger and bating the breath, this speaking daggers but using none [great cheering], is all very fine, and if it came from one justified in employing such language, and having recourse to such gestures, I should say they were simply ridiculous; but, coming from the quarter they do, they are not only ridiculous but offensive [cheering].

Mr. O'Connell said, he had not calumniated any *individuals;* he had said that the system of election committees was a system of perjury; and though the House resolved against him, and the Speaker lectured him, he immediately repeated the charge—justly, as it turned out, for the system was altered.

Sir Robert Peel rose, on the allusion to an erroneous construction which he had put, three years ago, on some remarks by Mr. Cobden:—

That honourable gentleman made an explanation of the meaning of the expressions he then used; I followed the honourable gentleman in the course of the debate; and my intention, after that explanation, was distinctly to relieve him from the imputation I had cast on him under my erroneous apprehension of the remarks he had made. If any one who was present at that debate had hinted to me that my reparation was not complete, and that my acceptation of the disavowal was less unequivocal than it should have been, I should have taken the earliest opportunity of stating what I meant to convey. I should be sorry that the subject has been revived, if it did not give me an opportunity of stating what my intention was, and of entirely withdrawing the imputation I threw out under what was at that time an erroneous impression.

Mr. Cobden made suitable reponse. He had not thought the disavowal quite distinct:—

I take the present statement, however, as a full and entire disavowal of the imputation made by the right honourable baronet; and I am glad it has been made, since it gives me the opportunity (quite as pleasant to my feelings as to those of the right honourable baronet) of expressing my regret, that whilst the remembrance of what had passed in this House was rankling in my mind, I have alluded to the right honourable gentleman in terms which I lament having adopted. After the explanation that has been given, I hope no one will feel justified in ever hereafter alluding to the matter.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

On Wednesday, Mr. Stafford O'Brien called attention to a matter concerning the interests of the established church in Ireland, which had caused much sensation out of doors. Mr. Evelyn Denison, when recommending Lord Lincoln to the electors of South Nottingham from the hustings, on Saturday last, mentioned a conversation between himself and Lord Lincoln on the subject of Irish policy; and stated, that the result proved satisfactory to him. Now, when it was recollected that Mr. Denison had supported Mr. Ward's motion for appropriating the temporalities of the Irish Church to public purposes, the circumstance that Lord Lincoln's explanations were satisfactory to Mr. Denison, raised a presumption as to the length to which the new Irish Secretary was prepared to go in dealing with the Irish Church. If that church were to be destroyed, he would rather that the work were done by Lord John Russell than by the present Government.

Sir James Graham stated, that he had no knowledge of the conversation alluded to; neither could he tell what course of Irish policy would satisfy Mr. Denison: but as to the destruction of the Irish Church, Sir James did not think that Lord John Russell intended any such thing:—

The honourable member said he had much rather see its destruction intrusted to the noble lord opposite than to her Majesty's present Government [hear, hear]. He was not aware that the noble lord was at all prepared to destroy that Church ["Hear, hear," from Lord John Russell;] at all events, he had never heard him make any such declaration. He had differed with the noble lord as to the appropriation of a portion of the Irish Church; but it remained to be shown that the noble lord was prepared, either in or out of office, to support a measure having for its object the destruction of that establishment. Certainly he was not in a condition to state the substance of the conversation which had been so vaguely rumoured abroad. As far as he was aware of the sentiments of his right hon. friend with respect to Irish policy, it was in unison with those of his own; and those sentiments were decidedly opposed to any policy destructive of the Protestant Church in Ireland.

Lord John Russell said, that Mr. Denison had told him the whole of the conversation in question; but he was not prepared to repeat it. Lord Lincoln had mentioned that he thought a liberal and firm policy ought to be pursued; adding, that he would say more on the subject when he became better acquainted with it:—

With regard to himself he must decline the task which the honourable member for Northamptonshire proposed to impose on him, for framing measures for the destruction of the Church of Ireland. He had never held the opinion that the Irish Church ought to be destroyed. He thought that a portion of that church's revenues were misapplied; he thought that a part of those revenues ought to be otherwise applied; it was a matter of contest between honourable gentlemen opposite and himself what would be the tendency of such measures—they contending that they would end in the destruction of the Irish church; and he (Lord John Russell) maintaining that they were calculated for its better preservation. For his own part he was ready to declare that, although he could never think the present situation of the Irish Church endowment, as it stood with regard to particular parishes, satisfactory, yet, with regard to the church, to that church as a whole, he wished for its maintenance and support, and he trusted that Parliament would maintain and support that part of the united church of England and Ireland [hear, hear.] He, therefore, could not accept the duty which the honourable member seemed to think should devolve on him. He would not disguise, however, that although he thought it would be inexpedient to introduce any measure with respect to the Irish Church at present, yet that when the time should come for the consideration of that question, there were parts of that church which might be usefully and beneficially reformed, which would make that church better able to withstand future attacks.

Mr. O'Connell closed the conversation with a few remarks:—

The Protestants of Ireland had as much right, he contended, to maintain their church in Ireland as the Roman Catholics had to maintain theirs, which they did by their own exertions—would that the Protestant Church were on the same footing! But the temporalities were another affair. He could not allow that they formed any part of the Irish Church, and he begged to press on the House the consideration of their allocation. Let them remember the debt which they owed to Ireland after so many centuries of misrule, which had ruined the country: he wanted no other authority for this assertion than the report of the Earl of Devon's commission. They could never take the affairs of the Irish Church into consideration without making some better allocation of its temporalities. He wished to deprive no man of his vested rights, but would have him retain them for life; but he could not hold out the least hope to those who desired an amalgamation of the two countries, without some very strong and decisive measure should be taken in reference to the temporalities of the Irish Church

THANKS TO THE ARMY IN INDIA.

Votes of thanks to the Governor-general, the Commander-in-chief, and the officers and men of the army on the Sutlej, for the late victories at Moodkee and Ferozeshah, were moved in both Houses on Monday night.

The Earl of Ripon proposed the series of resolutions, in which the vote of thanks was embodied, in the House of Lords. After briefly recapitulating the circumstances which rendered the concentration of the British forces on the Sutlej unavoidable; the noble lord proceeded to comment on the actions themselves, and on the gallantry displayed by the troops on the occasion.

The Marquis of Lansdowne rose with the most perfect sincerity of feeling to give those resolutions his most cordial support. It was impossible not to feel that the bravery displayed by British soldiers on this occasion had never been exceeded. With regard to that portion of the vote which related to the Governor-general, it was not to be doubted, after a perusal of the papers just presented to the House, that he had been placed in a position of extreme difficulty; and no one could deny that he had done his duty in descending from his high civil position, and assuming the post of second in command. The noble marquis concluded by saying, that he wished for the present to consider these great transactions in the splendour of their own success, and would reserve for another time all considerations as to the particular policy which had brought them about, and that he should, therefore, give his most cordial support to the resolutions.

The Duke of Wellington said:—

After the speech of my noble friend near me, there really remains but little for me to say upon the military operations; but I could not hear a motion of this description discussed without adding my unqualified approbation of the conduct of the troops on this occasion [hear, hear], and also of the officers who commanded them [hear, hear]; and particularly of my hon. and gallant friend the Governor-general, who, after having made all the arrangements appertaining to his duty as Governor-general, in order to collect all the resources of the country for the purpose of the great contest impending, having collected all the troops and made all the arrangements for the security of the country, volunteered his services in his rank in the army [cheers], in order to give his assistance to the officers commanding the army in chief in carrying on those operations which remained for him to carry on in order to secure the public interests and the possession of the country [hear, hear]. There is no obligation on an officer placed in his situation to take that course; you can hardly point to a single instance of a man being placed in that situation; but he has given us an example which I hope will always be followed [hear, hear]. When he found his services could be useful, he laid aside his position, and even his power as Governor-general, for it should not be forgotten that he would have carried with him into the field the power over the military operations of the army; he laid that aside—which, indeed, it is true, according to the usual practice, could not in that way be exercised, and most particularly in his case could not, because her Majesty, when he went to India, and the Court of Directors, gave him his commission to succeed to the command of the army after the death or coming away of the present Commander-in-chief; but he voluntered his services and his assistance to the Commander-in-chief in the great contest which was impending [hear, hear]. But the noble marquis has said truly, that all exerted themselves, and did everything in their power to obtain the great result which has crowned their efforts. It is not generally known, but I know it, that the enemy's position was completely closed in by intrenchments—so closed around that it deserved rather the name of a fortress than a fortified position; and, notwithstanding the advantages our troops in India have of having water carriages, and persons attached to each company, whose duty it is to supply them with water, they laboured in this action under the singular disadvantage of being deprived, even of that refreshment, for nearly twenty-four hours, because the country happened to be so much dried up, and the villages so distant. Yet they carried this position, certainly with very great loss, but which, I hope, has not left them in a state otherwise than efficient, if their services should be called for on military duty. I really must say, that I have not, for a length of time, heard of an action that has given me so much unqualified satisfaction as this, excepting in one particular.

This was the "panic" which was alleged to have fallen on the 62nd regiment. He had taken great pains to investigate the matter, and found that the regiment had lost in the action five-twelfths of its rank and file, and a vast number of officers, all mown down by a murderous fire of artillery. Under these circumstances, he could not help wishing that Sir J. Littler had consulted the list of killed and wounded before speaking in such terms of a regiment which had been unfortunate, but not cowardly.

After a few words from the Marquis of Londonderry and the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Ellenborough said, this last achievement justified the high opinion he had ever entertained of the army, with which he had been recently connected in India, and assured the House, that every thing that had been said applied as much to the native as to the European troops. He had heard with the greatest satisfaction what had fallen from the Duke of Wellington respecting the 62nd regiment, for whom the Governor-general would reserve the honour of storming the breach at Lahore. Above all things, it was most gratifying to remark the fidelity of the native army, which had remained unshaken under the severest temptation.

After a few words from Lord Auckland, the resolutions were carried *nem. con.*

The resolutions to the same effect in the House of Commons, were moved by Sir R. Peel, but previously to his rising for that purpose,

Mr. Bright presented a petition from certain individuals residing at Reading, declaring their abhorrence of all war, and praying the House to grant no vote of thanks to the army in India, which had just gained a victory in an unjust and impolitic war. [This memorial appears in another column.]

Sir R. Peel said, that but for what he had just witnessed, he never would have believed, that any body of Englishmen, seeing the unprovoked aggression which our army was called upon unexpectedly to meet and check, would have been found to sign a petition, grudging a tribute of applause to their valour and devotion which it then displayed. The resolution, which he intended to propose, would not touch on any question of a political character, but would be confined to an acknowledgement of the military skill, ability, and valour, of our gallant officers and soldiers. Those, if any there were, who felt inclined to find fault with the policy of the Governor-general of India, would not be compromised, in the slightest degree, by giving their assent to the present resolutions. Sir Robert then proceeded to describe the military licentiousness and sensual debauchery of the army and court of Lahore, which, he said, might have provoked a smile, had it not been for the disasters, which two causes entailed on the unhappy people submitted to its rule. He considered it a fortunate circumstance, that Sir H. Hardinge had separated himself, at such a time from the Government at home, by whom he was highly respected, and from his family, by whom he was dearly beloved, to become the Governor-general of India; but it was a still more fortunate circumstance, that he went to that country determined to earn for himself a name in its annals, not as a lover of conquest, but as the promoter of peace, and the social amelioration of its people. He then entered at considerable length into an explanation of the opinions which Sir H. Hardinge entertained respecting the events which had recently occurred in the Punjaub, and which led him to conclude that our interests would not be promoted by adding that district to our dominions. Although he had opposed himself to every scheme of aggression on the Sikh territory, and had repeatedly checked projects for taking possession of the Punjaub; he had, nevertheless, taken every precaution to secure the British dominions in case of sudden and unprovoked attack by the Sikh soldiery. He then gave a detailed and luminous description of the political and military measures of the Governor-general, previously to the invasion of the British territory by the Sikhs, and next proceeded to enumerate the various steps by which he concentrated his resources to repel and defeat it. Sir R. Peel read to the House the following extract of a private letter from Sir H. Hardinge to a member of his family, giving a description of the night of the 21st.:—

The night of the 21st was the most extraordinary of my life. I bivouacked with the men, without food or covering, and our nights are bitter cold. A burying camp in our front, our brave fellows lying down under a heavy cannonade which continued during the whole night, mixed with the wild cries of the Sikhs, our English hurrah, the tramp of men, and the groans of the dying. In this state, with a handful of men, who had carried the batteries the night before, I remained till morning, taking very short intervals of rest by lying down with various regiments in succession, to ascertain their temper, and revive their spirits [great cheering]. (That is to say, Sir H. Hardinge spent the night in going from regiment to regiment, lying down with them, animating their spirits, thus insuring, as far as human effort could insure it, the conquest of the coming day). I found myself again with my old friends of the 29th, 31st, 50th, and 9th, and all in good heart. My answer to all and every man was, that we must fight it out, attack the enemy vigorously at day-break, beat him, or die honourably in the field. The gallant old General, kind-hearted and heroically brave, entirely coincided with me. During the night I occasionally called upon our brave English soldiers to punish the Sikhs when they came too close and were impudent; and when morning broke we went at it in true English style. Gough was on the right. I placed myself, and dear little Arthur by my side, in the centre, about thirty yards in front of the men, to prevent their firing, and we drove the enemy, without a halt, from one extremity of their camp to the other, capturing thirty or forty guns as we went along, which fired at twenty paces from us, and were served obstinately. The brave men drew up in an excellent line, and cheered Gough and myself as we rode up the line, the regimental colours lowering to me as on parade. The mournful part is the heavy loss I have sustained in my officers. I have had ten aides-de-camp *hors du combat*, five killed and five wounded. The fire of grape was very heavy from one hundred pieces of cannon. The Sikh army, drilled by French officers, and the men the most warlike in India.

Having shown that the Commander-in-chief, the Governor-general, and the officers and men of the British army, had performed exploits worthy of the British name in thus gallantly resisting and defeating treble their own number of the bravest troops in India, trained by French officers, and provided with the most formidable artillery, he could not, he said, conceal from the House that its feelings of pride and satisfaction at those exploits must be tempered by recollecting that they had been attended with the loss of so many officers of the highest promise. Sir R. Sale, whom all admired for his heroic achievements at Jellelabad, had closed in these actions a long career of military glory by a death which he foresaw and which he even wished for.

"*Felix etiam in opportunitate mortis.*" He hoped that the House would unanimously support him, if, in case her Majesty should think fit to record her regret for Sir R. Sale's death, and her sense of his eminent services, by recommending the erection of a public monument to his memory, he should propose an address in return, promising, on its part, their readiness to make good the expense of it. He hoped that the thanks of the House would be conveyed to every regiment and to every man on the field, without exception. If there were occasions in which the valour of some regiments appeared to fail, yet, considering the obstacles which they had to encounter, and the enormous loss which they sustained, the deficiency of one moment was completely obliterated by the memory of their former services, and also by their subsequent exploits of the next day. He hoped that there would be a unanimous acquiescence in this vote, and that hon. members, keeping their differences of opinion on the policy of India in the back-ground, would combine with the utmost harmony in bearing testimony to the brilliant services of those gallant men who had proved themselves worthy of the name of Englishmen.

Lord J. Russell participated in the feelings which Sir R. Peel had expressed in the name of the House, and hoped that he should be permitted to have the satisfaction of seconding the resolution which he had moved, and which he trusted would meet with unanimous support. These resolutions would animate the survivors of those great actions, and would be a consolation to the families of those who had fallen. Without expressing any opinion at present on the policy of the Indian Government, he observed, that the desire of Sir H. Hardinge to confine himself to the territories already acquired by the East India Company was highly honourable to him. It could not be denied that that policy of forbearance had exposed the British army to an unequal encounter; but the spirit of that army, instead of quailing against such odds, was only animated to greater exertions.

Mr. Hume expressed his entire concurrence in these resolutions. He read a letter from a political agent in India, who had long been conversant with the character of the Sikhs, for the purpose of showing that Sir H. Hardinge had not been taken by surprise by the army of Lahore. An army of observation could not have been stationed in a better place than Umballah.

Sir R. Inglis called upon the House not to thank the officers and men alone, but to imitate the example of Sir H. Hardinge, who, in his proclamation to the people of India, called upon them to recollect the Arm of Divine Goodness, to whom that victory was principally owing.

Mr. Hogg (of the East India Board) passed a glowing eulogy on the fidelity of our Sepoys. They had been assailed by appeals to their religious prejudices, and by the largest pecuniary bribes, and yet amid temptations to which no soldiery had ever yet been exposed, their fidelity remained unchanged. In our whole native army on the banks of the Sutlej, amounting to 8,000 men, not one desertion had taken place.

Lord Ebrington, in expressing his concurrence with the resoultions, asked whether the Government was prepared to take any measure which would enable the relations of the private soldiers to know their fate in these actions?

Lord Jocelyn observed, that a list of the officers and men killed and wounded was regularly sent to the Horse Guards, and any information respecting any person in that list would be readily given at the Horse Guards. The list of killed and wounded in these actions had not yet been received.

Various other members having addressed the House in eulogy of the conduct of the army, the resolutions were passed *nem. con.*

IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF THE CORN-LAWS.

On Monday the House of Commons went into committee on the Customs' and Corn Importation Acts. On Mr. Green's proposing the first resolution from the chair,

Mr. Villiers rose to move the amendment of which he had given notice, that all duty for the purpose of protection should immediately cease. The honourable gentleman observed that, as the Ministerial measure recognised the expediency of establishing the freedom of trade in this country, he regretted that it had been considered advisable to postpone the establishment of it till the year 1849. In his opinion that delay was uncalled for; and the full benefit of the Ministerial scheme might be obtained at once. He should, therefore, propose an amendment, providing for the total and immediate repeal of all the existing duties on corn. He showed that it was the opinion of the late Earl Spencer, and of those great living agriculturists, the Earl of Radnor and Lord Ducie, that it was for the interest of the farmer—and, indeed, of agriculture generally—that the abolition of the corn-laws should not be gradual, but immediate. He then adverted, but not in a spirit of hostility, to the position in which the Government stood with regard to his amendment:—

But I must call the attention of the House to the fact, that the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Government cannot entertain much fear himself respecting the instant suspension or abolition of the corn-law [hear, hear]. If I correctly understand his statement to this House, on the 1st of November last, he considered that there was a very great apprehension of a want of food in England, and he conceived it would be safe and wise instantly to suspend the law, which would be practically to abolish it [cheers from the Opposition]. I do not collect from the right honourable gentleman that his apprehension is less now than it was then [cheers from the Opposition]. He apprehended a deficiency of food on the 1st of November in some parts of the United Kingdom, and deemed a suspension to be necessary. From what has fallen from him since the session commenced, it appears that his apprehensions have not abated [hear, hear]. His fears are nearly as great—quite as great as they were on the 1st of November [hear, hear]. It certainly strikes me, that the right honourable baronet has no fear himself of the consequences to the country or to the agricultural interest from the immediate suspension of the law, for he proposed that suspension as a mode of extending relief to those persons who were likely to suffer from an apprehended deficiency of food [hear, hear]. The right honourable gentleman seems to have stated very properly his reasons for permanently abolishing the law, and to have satisfied himself that at a certain time the trade in corn should be free, and those laws permanently abolished [hear, hear, hear]. He seems to me to have reasons why he should immediately suspend the law, and to have reasons also why it should be permanently abolished [hear, hear, hear]. That is what I propose to do now. I propose that it should be immediately and totally abolished [cheers from the Opposition]. The right honourable gentleman (if he supports the immediate abolition of the law) has only to look round the House, and he will see what he could not expect to see on other questions, friends on all sides of the House [hear, hear]. If he looks to that bench (pointing to the Protectionists), from which there has been a somewhat fierce opposition since the session commenced, he will find that he gets a sanction from them [cheers from the Opposition]—a sanction indicating there is no danger to be apprehended, and no ground of alarm from immediately suspending the law, for they said that so far as an immediate abolition or instant suspension of the duty on corn they are ready for it, they believe it might be done safely—they urge it to be done. So we have it on the best authority, that the immediate repeal will be attended with no evil at all [cheers from the Opposition]. Well then, if the right hon. gentleman will look opposite to him (to the Opposition benches) he will find the party, at the head of which is my noble friend, the member for London, who is perfectly ready, and on whom he can rely, to support the immediate abolition of the corn-law [cheers]. My noble friend has expressed this view of the question, and entertains the opinion positively, and every person who knows him knows this—that when he expresses an opinion they may rely upon him [loud cheers]. Therefore, if the right hon. gentleman (Sir R. Peel) will adopt the amendment I propose, which is for the immediate, total, and permanent repeal, he will find authorities on that side of the House (pointing to the Protectionists) to assure him that it will be safe, and he will find the requisite support and strength on this side of the House [cheers.]

Mr. Villiers adduced other considerations in favour of immediate repeal. For instance, it would enable the Government to meet with greater ease the emergency of Ireland, and it would lead to the dissolution of the Anti-corn-law League, which, though it was entitled to the gratitude of the country, would cease its agitation as soon as the cause of it disappeared.

Colonel Sibthorpe amused the House for some time with extracts from the Premier's former speeches. [The honourable and gallant gentleman could with difficulty decipher Sir Robert's former eulogies of protection. By way of apology to the House, he informed them that his eyes were not so good as they once had been, but, said the honourable and gallant gentleman, striking his heart, "It's all right in this department!"] If there should be a division on this question, he should divide along with Sir R. Peel, from no affection to him, but because, on comparing the propositions of Mr. Villiers and Sir R. Peel, he believed that Sir R. Peel's proposition was the less evil of the two.

Lord Worsley observed that, if he were called upon to make a choice between the amendment of Mr. Villiers and the proposition of Sir R. Peel, he should certainly vote for the amendment of Mr. Villiers in preference. But, if he gave such a vote at present, he should be precluded from voting in favour of any other amendment which might be proposed on the Ministerial plan—for instance, he should not be able to give his support to the amendment of Mr. O. Stanley for a fixed duty of 5s., which, he conceived, would be an adjustment of the question.

Mr. M. Gibson considered that Mr. Villiers had taken a most judicious course in proposing his amendment to the House. Protection had been indicted of high crimes and misdemeanours—it had been tried and found guilty. The country was calling for immediate execution; and the party opposite was demanding, but, he trusted, in vain, for a respite.

Mr. B. Escott considered the amendment of Mr. Villiers the most consistent with reason; but could not vote for it on the present occasion, as he was afraid that he should endanger the success of the Ministerial proposal by so doing.

Mr. R. Colborne declared his intention of voting for the amendment of Mr. Villiers, because the Parliament must be dissolved before the expiration of three years: and in that case the agitation on this subject must be renewed, if the Government scheme were adopted.

Mr. Goring showed why immediate repeal would be distasteful to the landed interest:—

The House must remember, however, that it was not the large landed proprietor who would be injured by such a measure as that proposed by the Government; for he, by the extended use of machinery, and the application of capital to the cultivation of the soil, might be enabled to meet the difficulty; but the small landed proprietors it was, with encumbered estates, with rent charges and mortgages, who must inevitably suffer [loud cheers and laughter from the Opposition]. Honourable gentlemen might laugh, but that was the fact [hear, hear]. The tithe-owner, and the farmer also, he contended, would be considerable sufferers if the proposed measure were carried into effect, and he should therefore give it all the opposition in his power.

Mr. Bright, after reading extracts from a speech of Lord Worsley to show that at no very distant period his lordship had declared that such a measure would not prove an adjustment of it, proceeded to comment upon Mr. Goring's confession:—

The honourable member who preceded me has referred, and I wonder at his imprudence, to the mortgages and incumbrances upon the property of landed proprietors [cries of "Oh!" from the Protectionists]. Now I do hope that the time has nearly come when the landed proprietors in this House will not subject themselves to such imputations, as have with some justice been heaped upon them, by again bringing forward their own extravagancies or imprudence, their mortgages and incumbrances, as the justification for a law to raise the price of food in order to secure to them a rent for their property which, in reality, it is not worth [cheers, and "Oh!" from the Protectionists]. I recollect in one of Mr. Dickens' works that he gives an account of an election for the dignified office of parish beadle, on which occasion the walls were covered with placards, with "Vote for Scroggins and eleven small children" [a laugh]. Why, there is scarcely even in that anything more pitiable than it is to witness the great landowners of this country coming here and talking of the incumbrances upon their estates, or of the necessity of providing fortunes for their grown-up daughters [hisses and groans from the Protectionists, cheers from other parts of the House].

He warned the Government that agitation would be continued on this subject so long as there was one shred of protection to be found in the laws regulating the import of provisions:—

You say that the agitation of this question is the worst thing that can happen. The noble lord the member for Lincolnshire says so distinctly. What guarantee have you that you will no have as much agitation now as if the law had not been altered in the least? I am afraid that the hon. gentlemen opposite are still clinging to the gains of that protection. I believe that you cling to the three years' delay because you fancy that you can gain something from it. As far as I am associated with the Anti-corn-law League, I can assure you, that that agitation will go on till the question is fairly settled. We were bound by hundreds of pledges to bring this question before the House, and still more are we bound to do so by a firm conviction of the necessity and the justice of the measure which we propose; and I am sure that the Free-traders throughout the country will thank my honourable friend the member for Wolverhampton for giving the House this opportunity of deciding once for all upon this question [cheers]. If the House pass this measure, it will have again to discuss it before this session is over, and if we do not gain the immediate repeal this session, we shall have to discuss it every session until the law is fairly abolished. We commenced our agitation with that object—we have carried it on for no other—and you may rest assured that we shall continue to persevere in the principles which we believe to be right, and to press them upon this House and the country until this great question is finally and fairly settled [cheers].

Sir R. Peel said, that if he looked singly to the emergency in Ireland, he would not deny that the immediate suspension of the corn-laws was the more expedient measure of the two. He knew that the Anti-corn-law League would be satisfied with nothing else than a total and immediate repeal of the corn-laws; but there were many persons who thought that the corn-laws ought not to be repealed at all. His object in bringing forward this project was twofold—one was to meet the emergency in Ireland, and another was to reconcile the Legislature to an adjustment of the question. He then entered into some details to show the reduction which his resolution would produce in the duties now paid upon the importation of grain into Ireland. Having gone through those details, he repeated his former declaration, that, if the representatives of the agricultural interest should prefer an immediate repeal of the corn-laws to the continuance of them for three years, and should combine with Mr. Villiers to carry his amendment, he should accept the amended proposal, and exert himself to the utmost to carry it into law. At the same time he would not answer for the result in another place. Of this he was certain, that had he brought forward a motion for the immediate repeal of the corn-law, he should have abandoned all hope of succeeding with it. He was sorry to hear Mr. Bright threatening them with continued agitation on this subject He thought that such agitation would be an evil, and, moreover, he thought that it would be unsuccessful:—

Well, the honourable gentleman, the member for Durham, threatens us with a continued agitation. Sir, I am very sorry for it [ironical cheers from the Protectionists]. I think such an agitation will be unreasonable [cheers from a large part of the Opposition]. I cannot answer for the agricultural party as to the course they would pursue in case a great change of this kind were carried; but I don't think an attempt would be made by them to disturb a settlement when once made [this appeal to the Protectionists was received in silence]. But, if there were a general acquiesence in the measure, I must say that the continued agitation of the Anti-corn-law League—considering that there would be a Parliamentary assurance that the duty would cease at the end of three years, and, that during the interval, there would be no duty as compared with that which now exists—I must say that an agitation for an immediate repeal would be unreasonable [Protectionist cheers]; and further, I do not think it would be successful [loud cheers from the same quarter, and from some on the Opposition side]. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Bright) says, that year after year the motion for an absolute repeal would be made, but, as year after year the time for absolute repeal became nearer, I cannot see that very much interest would attach to that motion [cheers].

After a few observations from Mr. G. Palmer against the Government measure, which the noise in the House rendered almost inaudible,

Lord J. Russell, after taking a view of the various propositions which were then before the committee, came to the consideration of the present amendment, which proposed that the corn-laws be forthwith repealed. Comparing that proposition with the Government scheme, he considered it to be more wise as an abstract, and more beneficial as a practical measure. The case, however, which he had then to consider, was that of Government proposing a plan for the settlement of a question on which there was great resistance offered by a party in the House of Commons, and on which there might be a still greater resistance offered on the part of a majority in the House of Lords. He did not know what view the upper House might take of that question, and, therefore, he felt compelled to listen to the views taken by the Prime Minister. Sir R. Peel said that he had reasons why he preferred his own proposition. He (Lord J. Russell) did not think those reasons sufficient; but he was obliged to consider that, although, on the one hand, he should gain a better measure, he should, on the other, risk the success of a beneficial one:—

It is far better, in my opinion, to promote the measure of the first Minister of the Crown; and, I believe, if the House carry it by as great a majority as voted for the committee, that the upper House will accept it more readily as a measure of that Minister. I feel, too, that it will be regarded with a degree of confidence which would not have been extended to the other measure, which must have been regarded as in some degree objectionable, as being the offspring of the Anti-corn-law League. I consider the carrying of this measure by the present Parliament, without any conflict of interests, as of the greatest possible advantage. I believe that, after it has been carried, there may be some excitement in the country, which will, however, subside, and the different classes of society will be b tter reconciled afterwards than they have been for many years past [cheers]. Speaking, besides, on the corn-law to any one who possessed a feeling for the institutions of the country, that was a most important consideration, because it is impossible not to see that a great political agitation prevailing on this subject for a length of time, may extend itself to other matters, and be directed to other purposes. I wish, most certainly, to see the question settled in the best possible manner; and I

think, on the whole, that the way most conducive to its best and most effectual settlement, is to support, against every amendment, the proposition of her Majesty's Government [cheers].

Sir H. JOLLIFFE hoped that this measure would be defeated; but if we were to have a great change in the corn laws, was not this the time when that change could be made most favourably?

Mr. HUME, in the hope that there would be no disunion in the Liberal ranks, declared his determination not to vote for the proposition of Mr. Villiers, but for that of the Government.

After a few words from the Marquis of GRANBY, a confused discussion arose, in the midst of which some hon. member moved the adjournment of the debate.

On this question the Committee divided, when there appeared—

Ayes	70
Noes	227
Majority against the adjournment ..	157

Lord JOHN MANNERS proposed a similar amendment, on which an agry discussion, full of personalities arose, in which Lord J. RUSSELL, Mr. FERRAND, Lord C. HAMILTON, and several other members took a part. Eventually, Lord JOHN RUSSELL moved that the chairman report progress, which proposition was acceded to, and the House adjourned.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, March 4th.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. Villiers' amendment for immediate repeal was last night rejected, as might have been expected, by a large majority. The numbers were:—For the amendment, 78; against it, 265: majority, 187.

Most of the speakers during the discussion advocated the Ministerial measure in preference to Mr. Villiers' proposal. On the Protectionist side, Mr. Bankes, Sir J. Hanmer, Mr. Finch, Mr. Borthwick, Lord G. Bentinck, Sir T. D. Acland, the Earl of March, Mr. Hudson, and Mr. Newdegate opposed the amendment.

Mr. BANKES preferred the Ministerial measure, because the delay it proposed would enable the country, through a new Parliament, to rescind it before the three years had expired.

Lord G. BENTINCK said, it was true the agriculturists would prefer immediate repeal to repeal deferred for three years, if one or other measure was necessary, but they did not consider this was the case. They (the Protectionists) intended persisting in the contest until, by means of a new Parliament, they should have re-established their old position.

The Earl of MARCH explained that the Duke of Richmond was only in favour of immediate repeal in the event of the corn-laws being repealed. But his Grace did not think this result certain, and therefore should not vote for immediate repeal.

Capt. HOWARD, Mr. HUME, Mr. DUNCOMBE, and Mr. WAKLEY on the free-trade side supported the Ministerial measure in preference to Mr. Villiers' motion.

Mr. MOFFAT, Mr. WARD, and Mr. COBDEN spoke in support of the amendment.

Mr. WARD said that his own experience enabled him to state, that the tenant-farmers were unanimously favourable to immediate repeal, viewing it as less likely to prejudice their interests than a tardy change.

Mr. COBDEN regretted that Mr. Villiers' amendment could not, by the forms of the House, be brought forward at a later stage of the debate, because he thought that, when the minds of the Protectionists had time to cool, and the exasperation arising from recent defeat had worn away, they would open their eyes to their real interests, and be induced to pass such a measure as would permanently settle the question. He hoped that this might yet be done in the form of a short bill at some other stage of the question; but this for the moment was away from the purpose. Nothing, however, which fell from him was to be wrongly construed; he did not vote for this amendment out of any spirit of opposition to the Ministerial measure; on the contrary, when this was once disposed of, the Premier's bill should receive his very hearty support. He warned the Protectionists against provoking the League to renewed agitation:—

I will say this as to out-doors' agitation, that if the measure was passed and acquiesced in, it would be impossible to maintain or excite any intense agitation against the law [cheers]. . . . . But you (the Protectionists) have placed things on a totally different footing. You have justified what I thought a somewhat impetuous remark of my honourable friend the member for Durham. You have rendered the course we propose imperative. You tell us you will not pass this measure if you can help it, and if it is forced on you, that you will go to another election to undo it. I say that is the desperate course announced by 100 gentlemen opposite [cries of "More"]. No, I don't think you are more [Opposition cheers]. But there are 100 of you determined in the desperate course of taking any steps consistent with the forms of the House, and consistent with honour, not only to frustrate this measure—which you cannot do—but, also, at the first convenient opportunity, to place the Government in a minority [cheers from the Protectionists]. I see danger to the right honourable baronet's measure in that, and I can foresee, too, the chances of some little delay in another place. There are motions now on the paper which, if brought on during the progress of this measure, may throw the right honourable baronet into a minority [loud Protectionist cheering]. I can see the possibility of Government being out of office before its measure passes through this House [cheers again]. I do not know whether their tenure of office be worth six weeks or two months' purchase [Protectionist cheers]. But still I do not see the policy of the course you are adopting in your attempts to turn the right hon. bart. out. However, that is your business, not mine. Mine is to keep this question wholly out of your power, and your reach to touch it. I say that this question with the country is safe. While we are united in principle, no power on earth can prevent us from carrying the total abolition of the corn-laws [hear, hear]. And it is because I foresee danger—because I foresee a course of factious policy adopted towards the present Ministers—a course to which I, for one, will not lend myself [cheers]—it is because I see in all these insidious amendments, and in the amendments spoken of in another place, only so many dangers, traps, and pitfalls laid for this measure—it is, therefore, I say, that I am anxious we should preserve ourselves intact with the country; and if you (addressing the Protectionists)—if you do defeat this measure—nay, alter or even tamper with it—then will we fall back upon the country ten times stronger than before. . . . . Do let honourable gentlemen reflect on what they are going to do. They are about to promote, to compel, the continuance of our agitation. Let them bethink them if they are in a fit position to abide the contest [cheers]. Why, I, as one of the members for the League, shall be almost ashamed to enter the field with the odds so fearfully against my opponents [laughter and cheers]. Broken, dispirited, without leaders or council, I confess I do not think you will put us to much trouble [cheers and laughter] in the way of agitation. Why, the ghost of the League, should it be dissolved, will be more than a match for the flesh, blood, bones, and sinews of Protection [cheers and laughter]. Take a clear view of the case. I hope that view will be taken here—nay, even in another place; and that a better decision will ultimately be come to.

After the division on Mr. Villiers' motion, the CHAIRMAN reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Thursday.

In the earlier part of the evening, a long and irregular discussion took place on the abuses of the present registration system. It originated in a motion by Mr. NEWDEGATE for a committee to inquire into certain grievances complained of by his constituents, and the hon. member availed himself of the opportunity to inveigh at some length against the unconstitutional character of the Anti-corn-law League. This course was persisted in by other speakers on the same side, until some very ample recrimination came from their opponents. In the progress of the debate, a general opinion became manifest that the *system* which affords facilities for any vexatious interference with the franchise, ought to be amended. The motion was ultimately withdrawn, their being a common impression that Government would originate some remedial measure on this subject.

Mr. C. BERKELEY moved the appointment of the committee, which he had obtained on Monday night, to inquire into the fabrication of the petition from Cheltenham for a repeal of the corn-laws.

In the House of Lords, last night, there was a short discussion on the Ministerial scheme, raised by the Earl of HARDWICK, on the presentation of a petition in favour of protection. He trusted their lordships would look upon the measure as opposed to the general welfare of the people. The Duke of RICHMOND was not surprised that the majority in the House of Commons had been ninety-seven, composed, as it was, of placemen in possession and expectancy, who had swamped the honest opinion of the House of Commons. Lord BROUGHAM hoped it would not be understood that he considered the League an unconstitutional body; but it was unconstitutional, though legal, to collect a fund for the purchase of freeholds, and thus purchase, also, votes for the returning of members to Parliament.

A discussion on secondary punishments was then brought on by the Marquis of LANSDOWNE, who presented a petition from a large body of persons who had emigrated to Van Diemen's Land, on the understanding that no larger a number of convicts would be sent there than were expected to be useful to the colony. The colony had been the receptacle for the whole convict population of Great Britain and Ireland. No less a number than 16,000 convicts had been introduced into the colony in four years, and the result was, that no perfect system of classification or discipline could be carried out. Lord STANLEY's opinion was, that the pecuniary embarrassment of the colony had led the petitioners to ascribe to the convict system, effects with which they had no relation. Earl GREY's earnest desire was, that the Government should endeavour to obtain for criminals the benefit of transportation without its evils, he being of opinion that the system of penal labour ought to be carried out at home. After some further remarks, the subject was allowed to drop.

NORTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ELECTION.—Although the supporters of the Earl of Lincoln had agreed to withdraw the name of that nobleman from the contest, the law compels the sheriff to keep the poll open during the two days specified, when it has been legally demanded. Very few, however, have polled, especially in support of Lord Lincoln. The first day's return consequently gives Lord Bentinck a majority of 908.

BRIDPORT ELECTION.—Mr. Romilly has issued an address to the electors of Bridport, expressing his intention of soliciting their suffrages.

THE EARL OF LINCOLN.—We see, by the *Gazette* of last night, that Viscount Canning has been appointed Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, which at once puts an end to the rumour circulated by the *Times*, that Lord Lincoln was to give up the secretaryship for Ireland, and return to that post.

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.—We are informed that this Association, deeply impressed with the feeling that the time is now come for an energetic appeal to the friends of popular freedom and good government, throughout the country, for co-operation and support, are already actively engaged in maturing a comprehensive plan of action, with a view to secure for complete suffrage its proper position as *the* question of the day. We understand, too, that some of the earnest advocates of this movement, at the head of whom is its philanthropic orginator, Joseph Sturge, have it in contemplation to call a general conference of the friends of the people for the purpose of considering the present position and prospects of their cause. It is intended to hold the convention in London.

THE TEN HOURS BILL.—A meeting, densely crowded, was held at Manchester, on Monday evening, to petition Parliament for an efficient ten hours bill. Resolutions to that effect were unanimously agreed to, and a petition was adopted. Lord Ashley was present, and addressed the meeting. In the course of his address, he said:—

Wherever I go, I certainly do find that there is an abated opposition to this question, and I do rejoice to say, that although all men do not go the length of an entire change of opinion, yet there is a great disposition to abate the seriousness of their opposition, and come to something like a middle term. Now, at this I do rejoice, because it shows that the ground that they occupied is now no longer tenable. It shows that they are prepared to depart from the ground that they had taken up, and you may depend upon it, that in departing from the ground that they have taken up, they have conceded the principle, and they have conceded to this party nearly the whole of the argument.

THE POLISH INSURRECTION—According to private letters, we hear of fresh outbreaks in various parts of Gallicia; of an attack by the people on the prison, and on the arsenal at Lemberg; of a conflict at Tarnowd, between the military and the populace, in which fifty dead were left on the ground; of riots between the peasantry and the proprietors, various of the latter having been made prisoners by the rebels. It is reported, that Prince Adam Czartoryski, the pretended future King of Poland, and M. Szamoiski, designated as Polish Minister of Finance, are now at a Polish village in Cracovia, so as to direct the movement. Travellers recently arrived from Gallicia affirm having met numerous bands of armed peasants on the road to Gallicia. The *Gazette d'Augsburg* quotes, from an authentic source, that the Polish conspirators of the Grand Duchy of Posen built the success of their plans on a general massacre of the German authorities at Polish vespers.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—At the weekly meeting on Monday, a long letter was read from Mr. O'Connell, analysing and denouncing in the strongest terms the coercion bill for Ireland:—

It is quite clear (he says) that, until the causes of the murders are done away with, coercion cannot be a preventive, and can scarcely produce any but unavailing punishment. It will, however, produce more irritation and greater desperation.

But let the people beware. Let them recollect that the rebellion of '98 was got up, and fomented, and fostered into existence, to carry the union. Let them be convinced that there are enough of evil-disposed persons ready to foment another rebellion, in order to prevent the repeal of the union.

Rent for the week, £227 13s. 3d.

REPRESENTATION OF LEICESTER.—It appears uncertain, at present, whether Mr. Bright or Mr. George Thompson will stand on the Liberal interest instead of Mr. W. Ellis.

THE POTATO DISEASE.—From the western counties of Ireland, there are accounts of the extension of the blight to the portion of the crop selected for seed. The soft open weather is considered unfavourable, as regards the continued spread of the disease.

ALARMING PROSPECTS OF THE POTATO CROPS.—At the ordinary meeting of the Horticultural Society, held yesterday, Dr. Lindley laid before the company specimens of new frame potatoes, as well as those grown in the open ground from various parts of the country, and which proved the lamentable fact, that the disease will be greater in the ensuing than the past season.

MEXICO.—By the latest intelligence from Mexico we learn that the province of Yucatan has absolutely declared its independence of Mexico, and is now a separate republic.

THE OREGON QUESTION AND THE MONEY MARKET.—The present announcement of the decisive refusal of the American Government to submit the difference to arbitration upon any basis whatever, came upon the moneyed and mercantile interests suddenly and unexpectedly. The consequence was a fall of 1 per cent. in consuls. It is satisfactory, however, to know, that the precipitancy of the refusal of all offers of arbitration by the Government, had met with severe condemnation in all respectable quarters in New York.—*Daily News.*

SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS.—A correspondent suggests the formation of a society of this nature in the metropolis. Such an association already exists in Glasgow, and ably advocates its principles in tracts which, as well from the talent and knowledge of the subject they display, as from their cheapness and extensive circulation, have materially helped the cause in Scotland. Such a body might be of much more service in the head quarters of hanging—the metropolis.—*Daily News.*

WELSH MORALITY.—The inhabitants of Pwllheli, Carnarvonshire, have furnished a good specimen of sterling Welsh morality. It appears that the conduct of the English labourers in the service of the Railway companies, as it regards their observance of the Lord's day, has been such as to excite an intense feeling in the town and neighbourhood. A requisition has been presented to the Mayor, signed by more than a hundred of the most respectable inhabitants, requesting him to call a public meeting to consider the best course to be adopted in order to meet the evil. The meeting is to be held on the 12th inst. A very lively interest is felt in the matter by all classes in the town. Addresses on the subject, both in Welsh and English, are in course of preparation. We trust that these efforts to preserve order and morality will be crowned with success.—*Correspondent.*

WAR EXPENSES.—The cost of the French war department this year is 325 million of francs, or about thirteen millions sterling; so that it seems that the luxury of making razzias on the poor Arabs is rather an expensive one.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

—	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Peas	Flour.
English	1740	152	1770			
Scotch.....						
Irish						
Foreign	2610		760			

Price the same.

Terms for advertising in the *Nonconformist*.
For 7 lines....5s. 0d. | For 10 lines....6s. 0d.
For every additional line..... 4d.
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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A. B." Certainly not.

"A Congregational Pastor," and "A Welshman," next week.

"W. Mainwaring." We are rather shy of interpreting the special intentions of Providence by anything but actual events.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1846.

SUMMARY.

The monster debate is over. Twelve nights have been consumed in discussing the Ministerial policy, the character of the Premier, and the claims of a particular class to lord it over all others. There would have been some solemnity in the very length of this protracted debate, if one could but imagine the speaking any part of the material destined to determine the ultimate voting. If the discussion were in any way instrumental to the final judgment, none would have reason to complain of its length. The change proposed is a great one. The interests touched by it are numerous. The great principle which runs through the measure of Government is comparatively new and untried. The reform which it introduces, although purely economical, will affect both our social and our political well-being. Twelve nights do not appear to us too many for serious deliberation, before giving legislative sanction to so mighty a revolution. But, unfortunately, in this instance, the time was little better than wasted. Debate was not intended to influence votes, is scarcely ever expected to do so, and on this subject the public have been so well instructed, as scarcely to need the repetition of arguments with which, on both sides of the question, they are perfectly familiar. Talking for mere talking's sake, never commends itself to the British public. Accordingly, we much question whether the monster debate has found many readers. It required more than ordinary courage to travel over such a dreary and interminable waste of words. Three weeks is a long time to keep national anxiety upon the rack, and the Protectionists have done their cause but little service by protracting the debate so much beyond the ordinary limits. Shrewd men begin to suspect them of purposes which they dare not avow, and to entertain the thought that they are merely trying the last resource of their party—the Fabian policy of delay.

There is nothing very special to note respecting the last two nights of the discussion. With two or three exceptions, they were of the same pattern as all which had gone before them. Mr. Cardwell, in a neat, elegant, and philosophical style, put the case of free-trade with great clearness and power. Mr. Villiers was lively, out-spoken, and democratic. Mr. Cobden, who rose amidst the cheers of both sides of the House, excelled himself. There is something peculiarly English in his style of address. He says just the things which every man wishes to be said—which every man thinks he could have said—but which, when the time comes for saying them, no man finds himself able to say with the same apt propriety of speech. Mr. Cobden reasonably passed by what may be called the substantial merits of the question. On these he had spoken so frequently and so well, that it would have been a mere work of supererogation to reiterate his sentiments. He confined himself, therefore, to the position of the question, and here his triumph was complete. One after another, he took up the pretences of the Protectionists—pretences which they fondly hugged to their bosoms as sure evidence of their power—and with a few emphatic words brained them once for all. Their appeal to public opinion—their desire for a general election—their hopes of a majority, and a Protectionist administration—all passed in review before his vigorous common sense, and stood out to the dullest apprehension as the grossest absurdities. There was a tone of good humour running through his speech which imparted to it an indescribable charm. It seemed from end to end a tissue of facts made vocal, and every fact spoke to the Protectionists in compassionate tones, "Do yourselves no harm." The conclusion was beautiful—such an one as could have come from no mind but one deeply in earnest. "Let us have no triumph" was the purport of it. "Let us have a glorious agreement, and, in our agreement, let us, who have taught the nations of the earth many wholesome lessons, teach them, by our example, to unshackle their commerce from all restrictions." The division shortly afterwards took place, and a majority of ninety-seven was declared for Ministers.

On Monday night Mr. Villiers proposed his amendment for immediate repeal. The case made out by him was one which no reason could resist. The advantages of a present over a future settlement of the question were placed in a light too strong for sophistry to veil. Sir R. Peel had really no reply. Amidst the multitude of words, a careful inquirer can pick up nothing but this, that he had hopes of succeeding with the present measure—that he could answer for nothing more extensive than this—that he would, therefore, abide by his original proposition—and that, if Mr. Villiers' amendment were carried, he would adopt it without making himself responsible for the consequences it might involve. Lord John Russell, contrary we believe, to general expectation, announced his intention of voting with the Ministers. In the abstract he preferred Mr. Villier's proposal to that of Sir R. Peel's, but he saw danger in it as parties now stood. He would not, therefore, give the House of Lords an excuse for throwing out the measure, but would vote with the Government in every stage of its progress. Mr. Hume concurred with Lord John Russell. Mr. Bright declared that so long as the sliding scale remained, the League would continue its exertions. The Protectionists shrunk from their own threat, and those who spoke on their behalf, expressed their intention of voting against the motion. The debate was adjourned, and the division will probably be announced in our Postscript, and it needs no second-sight to be able to discover that it will go against immediate repeal.

On the same evening, in both Houses of Parliament, thanks were proposed and voted to the army engaged in India. Supposing, for a moment, that military achievements peculiarly merit the thanks of Parliament—thanks which are never paid to civil services, however eminent—there appear to us no grounds for withholding them in the present instance. There have, it is true, been pretty broad intimations thrown out of military mismanagement, but, so far as we can judge, without sufficient ground for their support. Where an army takes the initiative, as the Sikhs did, it is clear that the opposing party must always, to a certain extent, be taken where he was not aware, or, at all events, where he was not sure, and this private enemies and grumblers are very fond of magnifying into what they call being surprised. The key to the Governor-general in India not being nearer to the Sutlej, is probably to some degree as stated, that in case the Sikhs crossed, he wanted to have some means of choosing his own point of action before they reached him; but to a much greater degree it may be suspected, that he wished to avoid giving them the plea that they were alarmed by his proximity to the passage of the river himself. The affair, then, in a military point of view, does not call, in our opinion, for any severity of stricture. Politically and morally, we believe it to deserve the most unqualified condemnation. The conquest of the Punjaub has been, for some time, we doubt not, with the authorities of India, a foregone conclusion. Prince Waldemar of Prussia, it is known, deferred his departure from the Eastern Peninsula last autumn, that he might witness a campaign in the north-west. Cautious as have been the movements of the Governor-general, each step which he has taken indicates the final result which he contemplated. The Sikhs undoubtedly were the immediate aggressors, but a long foregoing train of policy brings home, we fear, the reponsibility of this most sanguinary engagement to the doors of the British Company. The vote, as usual, was passed unanimously in both Houses.

Lord Lincoln has been defeated in South Notts by a considerable majority. He was nominated immediately afterwards for North Notts, but has been subsequently withdrawn.

The French colonists of Algiers are in great alarm at the successes and wily policy of their implacable foe, Abd-el-Kader. Far from having been captured, or even defeated, he has entered the colony itself, roused the peaceful tribes to insurrection, and carried his victorious arms almost to the gates of Algiers. The French Government, dissatisfied with Marshal Bugeaud's want of success in subduing the iniquitous Emir and his Arab followers, talk of recalling him; and are making preparations, on an immense scale, for a new African campaign. £40,000,000 sterling, and more than 300,000 Frenchmen, have already been sacrificed in this horrible contest. Truly our neighbours, as well as ourselves, are beginning to feel the retribution that follows the abandonment of a nation to the criminal lust of dominion.

The last intelligence from the United States is somewhat calculated to diminish the prospect that was held out of a settlement of the Oregon question by arbitration. The British minister has twice renewed his offers on that head, but the American Cabinet have definitely refused to entertain the proposition. Were the momentous question of war or peace suspended, even upon the decision of President Polk and his coadjutors, we should tremble for the result, but happily the United States' Congress, despite its blustering language, is more moderate in its *decisions* than the head of the Government, and the great body of the people more moderate than either.

THE DIVISION.

Rumours, conjectures, calculations, as scuds of mist before the rising sun, have been dispersed by fact. Uncertainty is at an end—a Ministerial majority of Ninety-Seven, settled on Friday night the question of commercial reform. The triumph is unquestionably a decisive one. Some further obstructions may yet be offered to the measure during its passage through the House of Commons—but the force of the Protectionists, spent in a protracted general engagement, will tell but feebly, we imagine, in future skirmishes. The line of march is virtually cleared up to the very gates of the House of Lords. Whether that body will still surrender, at first summons, is, perhaps, doubtful, but as it is utterly impossible they can hold their ground, even if so disposed, to any purpose useful to themselves, we shall assume their reluctant consent to the proposition of Government, and regard the abolition of the corn-laws as virtually enacted.

Rejoicing as we do in the result, and believing that the political bearings of it will be more beneficial than even the economical and social—glad as we are to have the ground cleared of a question which has for years past precluded the growth of any other—we cannot deem ourselves justified in tacitly overlooking the political immorality which the division indicates. The fact, which diffuses gladness throughout society, reads likewise a painful lecture on the profligacy pervading public life. The deed done is a grateful one; the mode in which, and the hand by which, it has been accomplished, reflect anything but credit upon the legislature of the empire. Let us recal the circumstances of the case.

Five years have now elapsed since the Whig Administration, expiring of weakness, attempted to renew its strength by a proposal to admit foreign corn at a fixed duty of eight shillings a quarter. A strong party, constructed and led by Sir Robert Peel, successfully resisted the measure. An appeal was made to the country—and the country, surfeited of Whig insincerity, refused to respond. A large majority of Protectionists was returned. Sir Robert Peel was borne into office. A slight modification of the sliding-scale was effected. Manufacturing depression was at its lowest. Insurrection ensued. Whig and Tory combined to keep up the corn-laws. All attempts to repeal them proved futile. A failure of the potato crop occurs. There is a prospect of famine. It becomes unsafe, so far as aristocratic institutions are concerned, to resist the voice of the country, and the stern teaching of events, any longer. Lord John Russell proclaims his conversion—all his party are converted with him. Sir Robert Peel, not willing to be outdone by his noble rival, announces a change in his views—upwards of a hundred of his supporters change with him. Within a few months, a house of legislature, having uniformly adhered, by immense majorities, to the principle of agricultural protection, wheels round, uses the very arguments which over and over again it had pronounced to be worthless, and by a larger majority than that which placed Sir Robert Peel in office, surrenders the very position it was elected to defend.

Several reflections are suggested to us in looking at this brief outline of events, to one or two of which we feel impelled to give utterance.

We have in it a luminous illustration of retributive justice. We shall not easily forget the last general election. Public opinion, not then so ripe as now, but sufficiently enlightened to have carried a repeal of the corn-laws, under a system of fair representation, was overborne by the most barefaced and outrageous violation of all constitutional maxims. The constituencies were flooded with corruption. About a million and a half of money was spent by the landlords, to entrench their unjust gains behind a Parliamentary majority. Reason and religion uplifted their voices in vain. Want pleaded hard, but pleaded to no purpose. The prayers of the people went unheeded. Insult was added to injury. That which the Protectionists had won at so tremendous an outlay, they would retain at all hazards. "Peel and Providence" was then the watchword. The Premier himself was exultant, refused to prescribe before he was regularly called in, and promised to lead on his troops to certain victory, and to permanent rest. Who could have anticipated the issue? The chosen leader takes, from the first, the road to commercial reform. From one position to another he marches, carrying his army with him, but always in the opposite direction to that which himself had originally prescribed. Principles are given up, amidst much grumbling from subordinates, as untenable. The very citadel of monopoly is laid bare to assault. Then, at length, heaven itself declares against further delay. A little speck appears on the horizon. With unexampled rapidity it spreads a canopy of blackness over the heads of the Protectionists. Favoured by these unexpected circumstances, the League pushes on in triumph. Sir Robert's courage fails. He trembles—he cowers—he resolves to abandon his post. It will not do. *His* must be the hand to break in pieces his own magnificent party—*his* the mouth to propose a total repeal of the corn-laws—*his* the Parliament to carry it. In the hour of his first victory we predicted that "*things* would beat him." Things have beaten him. Relentless necessity has laughed his statesmanship to scorn; and free-trade has wrung its final triumph from the very man, and the very Parliament, appointed to lead it forth to instant execution. Their vote bespeaks their own humiliation. Into the pit which they had digged, themselves have fallen.

The division teaches us, moreover, the blinding influence of party. Why should not this measure have been carried long since? The arguments employed by Ministers and their fellow-converts, in favour of the great change they have proposed, are not novel—have acquired no new force. They were just as convincing five years ago as they are now; and we have tolerable proof, that long before the appearance of the potato rot, they had done their work upon the judgments of honourable members. Charity cannot extend so far as to believe in the simultaneous conversion of some hundreds of senators, more especially when we find them suddenly conversant with all the facts which illustrate their newly-adopted theory, and able, at the shortest notice, to dispose of objections which

themselves had elaborated in past times. Many of them—most of them, we take it, knew on which side of the question lay truth and justice, before the opening of the present session. The occurrences of the late recess afforded them nothing more than a plausible pretext for openly declaring themselves. They were ready to march as soon as their leader gave the word. But what does this amount to? It amounts to credible evidence that in the House of Commons individuality of opinion, and independence of action, barely exist. Mind settles down there in large masses. Reform becomes almost impossible, save as the result of an irresistible necessity. Party spirit prevents all gradual change in the legislative body. Opinion, within the walls of St. Stephen's, moves onwords, not imperceptibly, as the day, but in successive shocks, like the earthquake. Accordingly, almost every great question is carried in such manner, as to excite intense agitation, and to increase amongst those who profit by its enactment, disrespect for the instrumentality by which it is made theirs. It is not less remarkable than true, that every recent concession to the spirit of the age, has lowered, rather than elevated, Parliament in the eyes of the public. Every such concession has been refused, until the time has elapsed for making it with a good grace—and when made, has been made under circumstances which taint the reputation of those who offer it. The recent division on the corn-law policy of Ministers is no exception to the rule.

Another reflection is suggested by the manner in which the debate has terminated. At length parliamentary decision is put in unison with the public mind. The labour, the patience, the expense both of time and money, and the providential interpositions, which have been required to bring about this harmony, prompt us to ask what special recommendation can be possessed by that system of representation, which renders a true expression of the national will little short of miraculous? Are we as a people so forward in our views as to render desirable so stringent a suppression of our desires—so revolutionary and anarchical, as to need this heavy clog upon all our movements? If so, surely representative government for us is altogether a mistake, and to be ruled by the Queen in Council would be preferable, because more simple. The truth is, many of our institutions could not long co-exist, in these days, with a *real* representation of the people. They belong to a past age. They have nothing to recommend them but their antiquity. They are themselves an abuse, and, like kangaroos, they carry about with them whole families of kindred abuses. The present distribution of the franchise is found to shelter these behind the forms of popular government. Further organic reform is therefore blown upon by all parties as utterly inexpedient. Democracy is denounced, because democracy, it is feared, would deal with shams as they deserve. All who profit by a sham, resist complete parliamentary reform as revolutionary. And hence, the public submits to the inconvenience of being always ten years a-head of the House of Commons in political opinion.

CHAFF FOR THE MILITIA.

A LETTER virtually addressed to the citizens of Edinburgh, among other things on the subject of the Militia, is worth quoting as a specimen of the reasoning bestowed upon the public, and with which, in practice at least, the public is obliged to be content.

Their representative says to his correspondent:—

"I shall give my best consideration to the measures which may be proposed respecting the Militia; but I must frankly tell you, that my conduct will be guided by principles which differ widely from yours."

Proper enough; if the principles can be made out.

"I hold defensive war to be lawful and necessary."

So may others besides. But one leading allegation of the Militia recusants (or if it has not been alleged, it is one leading consideration which gives strength to their cause) is, that the present is no question of defensive war at all; and, consequently, on the opponent's own showing, there is nothing either just or necessary. The whole of the recusants may not be satisfied of the truth of the assumption, that war if defensive is therefore lawful and necessary. But there is not one of them that is not deeply persuaded of the negative proposition, that war when *not* defensive is *neither* lawful nor necessary. And with respect to the nature of the actual case, the public are too old birds to be taken in with chaff. The chaffing therefore of the hon. gentleman will be vain, chaff he never so perseveringly and ably. The public know that there is nothing like defensive war at issue, except so far as there may be inclinations in certain quarters to bring on a war where defence might have its convenience. They know that the real reason for calling out the Militia is, that it may liberate other forces for offence against God and man; and this they will oppose while they are able.

"I conceive that the state has a right to call on every citizen to bear a part in protecting his native soil against assailants."

Debate this when the case is present, but not when it is not. The public belief is, that the question of protecting native soil against assailants, is non-existent or fraudulent, and consequently no man is bound by the argument built on it.

"That the exertion and burden ought to be reduced as much as possible, and divided as fairly as possible, is quite true. But I suspect that all the inconveniences which even a vexatious enrolment can produce would be small indeed, when compared with the misery which would be caused by the appearance of a hostile armament in the Forth."

For an "exertion and burden" which are unnecessary and unjust, the best answer is, that we will none of them. At this time of day, and in profound peace, the citizens of Edinburgh are to be terrified with "the appearance of a hostile armament in the Forth." What is the use of peace, if our leaders are to drag us through the burdens of war? There is a childishness about this attempt to make a bugbear of "a hostile armament in the Forth," which entitles the author to the place of foremost bearer in the procession of Guy Fawkes.

"I cannot at all understand your scruple about joining a protection society. You pay taxes, I presume, directly or indirectly. You must be aware that a large part of these taxes go to support the regular army and navy. Now, if you may lawfully contribute to the support of a kind of force which has been, and may be, employed in offensive war, surely you may, without any twinge of conscience, contribute to the support of a force which is, by its nature, strictly defensive, and which is not likely ever to shed a drop of blood, unless danger of the most fearful kind should come near to our own hearths."

In other words, you pay taxes, many of you without having any vote or will upon the subject, and of these taxes much goes, against your consent, to support the army and navy in doing things you detest. Therefore, do not oppose the Militia which you *can* oppose, because you are obliged to submit to the doings of the army and navy which you *cannot* oppose. You grumble at being robbed of your purse; therefore, do not wear a watch-guard to hinder your watch from going in the same manner. If the argument of the Member for Edinburgh is not this, it is nothing. The chosen of the constituency as by law ordained, is hemmed in by the two horns of this dilemma.

"I persuade myself that your aversion to the use of arms does not go to such a height that you would hold yourself morally bound to see Edinburgh sacked by invaders without striking a blow for your home and family."

Possibly not. But does that prove that the Militia must be called out? The dislike to seeing Edinburgh sacked may be an eternal verity. Does it follow, therefore, that Militias must be sempiternal, and everything else which would be tolerated sooner than see the good town sacked?

"Now, the Militia is meant to be peculiarly a security against invaders. It is not an instrument of aggression. You must therefore admit it to be, as compared with the regular army, an innocent institution."

Where are the invaders? It is because there are none, that we know the calling out the Militia is intended only to enable somebody to aggress. We will have none of its comparative innocence. We will use all the powers God and nature have given us, to keep down the little nuisance, and the great one too.

"If, then, you refuse to pay anything towards the Militia, while you are paying the soldiers and sailors who have just been fighting at Buenos Ayres, I may say you strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

The "soldiers and sailors who have just been fighting at Buenos Ayres," were paid, it may be, out of our money whether we would or no. And perhaps something may be done towards setting that to rights some time hence. But that makes no reason why we should turn-out or pay for the Militia besides, if we can do anything to hinder it.

Surely there must have been a low opinion of the good sense of Edinburgh. But this proceeds from the class of men, who "have babes at their desire."

GREAT EARLY CLOSING MOVEMENT.—The fourth annual meeting of the Metropolitan Drapers' Association took place on Friday evening in Covent-garden Theatre. The house was densely crowded. Between 6,000 and 7,000 persons were present, and the demonstration, taken altogether, was probably the most powerful and successful that has yet appeared in support of the object of the Association. Lord Ashley took the chair shortly after eight o'clock. Amongst the distinguished individuals who surrounded his lordship, we noticed the Hon. Fox Maule, M.P., Colonel Fox, M.P., George Thompson, Esq., Dr. Cox, and many of the most popular ministers of the religious denominations of the metropolis.

THE LATE DR. FLETCHER.—The teachers of Stepney Meeting Sunday-schools, with a view to perpetuate the memory of one who was beloved, not more as an able and successful preacher, than as a warm friend to the young, resolved, some time since, to place a suitable memorial in the school-rooms in Garden-street, which which were erected mainly through Dr. Fletcher's exertions. The work is now finished, and was exposed to view for the first time on Sunday, Feb. 22, when a special service was held by the teachers, a large number of the congregation also being present. The memorial consists of a tablet of white marble, surmounted by a striking portrait of Dr. Fletcher in relief, with the following inscription, kindly furnished by Dr. Wardlaw. Appropriate addresses were delivered on the occasion, especially by Dr. Fergusson.

CHRISTIAN YOUNG MAN'S ASSOCIATION.—A public meeting of this Association took place on Thursday evening at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand. Lord Ashley in the chair. Upwards of six hundred persons, including many of the most influential Dissenting ministers in London, were present. The party took tea, and then proceeded to the business of the evening. The object of the Association is to induce the young men of the metropolis to improve that leisure which they are so earnestly desirous to obtain, and to disseminate Christian principles, by means of missionaries, throughout the large trading establishments of this great city. Lord Ashley said, he would rather be chairman of the Ragged School Union than president of the Royal Academy [loud cheers]. Addresses in furtherance of the object of the society were delivered by Messrs. Dr. Archer, Samuel Martin, Josiah Wilson, T. Binney, Dibdin, &c., and the meeting separated.

JUSTICE IN ENGLAND AND JUSTICE IN IRELAND.

(From the *Examiner*.)

Lowe, the father who killed his son at Brentford, and then attempted to cut his own throat, has been acquitted of the intent to murder or to maim, and found guilty of a common assault, for which he is sentenced to six months' imprisonment! In Ireland a man is hanged for the attempt to murder, not upon the clearest evidence. It was well for Lowe that his knife was not aimed against a Sir Francis Hopkins. Had Seery only stabbed a Brentford cobbler, his sentence might have been six months' imprisonment for a common assault.

In England, within the last five years, the most cruel assassins have escaped the gallows, thanks to the dispensing power of the Home Office, though there has not been the shadow of a question about the guilt of the convicts; but in Ireland a man suffers for the *attempt*, and with some doubt as to identity. But waving the doubt, ought the attempt to have the same punishment as the accomplishment of the crime. We have always held that it should not. It is desirable to keep open the *locus penitentiæ*, to present a motive for stopping short of the last guilt. The failure of an attempt may be referable to relentings; it is at least politic to suppose it so. Even in the act of levelling a pistol at the person, compunctions may shake the hand, and divert the aim. It is wise to distinguish between criminal intentions completed and not completed, and not to apply the same measure of punishment to both. There may be instances in which the moral guilt may be the same in both classes of cases, but it is politic to give the uncompleted crimes the benefit of the distinction, and to hold the criminal responsible for what he did, not for meaning to do what he did not.

Upon the example of punishment for the minor offence of cutting and maiming, how wholesome is the common reflection, "It was well for the prisoner that he did not kill the man."

The stupidest imprudence in the law is, confounding the shades of guilt, and making no allowance, no encouragements, for relentings or changes of purpose in an act of crime.

The shameful fact is admitted, that a deputation of Roscommon magistrates and gentlemen interposed to prevent the extension of mercy to Bryan Seery. Lord St. Germans read this statement in a letter from the Lord-lieutenant:—

"The principal object of the deputation was to represent to me the lawless state of the county of Roscommon, and the necessity of adopting more stringent measures for its pacification, and it was only incidentally stated that any lenity shown to Seery would be considered as a proof of the weakness of Government."

So the man was to be hanged to show that the Government was not weak. The question whether he was to suffer or not was not made to turn in any degree on his guilt or innocence, but simply and solely on the construction that would be put on the rigour or the clemency of the Government. Every magistrate in that deputation should be struck out of the commission of the peace, as having exhibited the most signal and shocking ignorance of the first principles of justice. How will men act who can so counsel? Of what injustice are they not capable?

Lord St. Germans contents himself, however, with characterising the interference of the Roscommon deputation as unusual. He gives them, at the same time, credit for a sense of duty—they, forsooth, thought it their duty to get Seery hanged lest the Government should appear weak.

Does Lord St. Germans ascribe the sense of duty to miserable peasants, who, for some object that seems politic to them, take away life by other modes than the forms of law? These misguided, ignorant people, have their mistaken notions of justice, and so too have the Roscommon gentry.

A coercion act for the gentry of Ireland is at least as much wanted as for the peasantry; and if the people are to be shut up by night for the peace of the country, the upper class should be locked up by day to prevent such outrages as the Roscommon deputation.

Lord St. Germans protests, that the Lord-lieutenant was wholly uninfluenced in his decision on Seery's case by the persuasions of the deputation—it seems to us that he ought to have been moved by it to scrutinise very severely the motives of his own harsh judgment, and to assure himself, that none of the vice of the Roscommon argument lurked in the decision to which he had been led.

MORE SACRIFICES OF OLD FRIENDS.

(From the *Spectator*.)

A NEW light has dawned upon the House of Lords. Year after year, for more than a century, have they, in combination with the Commons, been sharpening the law against vulgar destroyers of hares; but now hares are to be exterminated all the same as magpies. The Duke of Richmond declares they are "nothing but vermin;" and that ever since he became possessed of property he has destroyed all the hares upon it. Such being his Grace's views, it is passing strange that he has never thought of interfering in behalf of his fellow-labourers in the task of extirpating this "vermin," whom his brother landowners have been in the habit of sending to gaol. The Duke of Richmond claims credit for destroying hares; but the labourer who emulated him, instead of receiving so much per head, has been fined and imprisoned.

The unkindest cut of all to these ex-pets of the aristocracy has been inflicted by Lord Ashburton. On the same evening that the Duke of Richmond propounded his new definition of the genus hare in the House of Lords, on the second reading of Lord Dacre's Game Bill, Lord Ashburton proposed that hares should be "struck out of the class of game altogether." Not a voice was raised in favour of the poor animal whom he proposed to degrade from the patrician caste of game. The scene reminded one of Gay's "Hare with many Friends." Hares collectively, as well as individually, are petted and praised only so long as it costs nothing. While hares were supposed to be fed exclusively at the farmer's expense, they were preserved ("protected") *à l'outrance*. But it has been found out, as the Duke of Richmond says, that "they not only injure the farmer, but the landlord, as they bark many of his most valuable trees." The barking of hares disturbs the noble Duke's slumbers worse than the barking of dogs. The caitiff hares no longer deserve the honour of dying by aristocratic triggers; they are to be consigned to a more vulgar doom; ere long we may see hare-catchers as much run after as mole-catchers or rat-catchers. The "hare destroyer to the Duke of Richmond" may rival in celebrity the "bug destroyer to her Majesty."

If the hares but knew what is awaiting them, they would be as active at this crisis as the other agricultural interests. While the landlord endeavours to persuade tenant-farmers and labourers that the corn-law is as much their question as his, the hares might address appeals quite as moving, and more convincing, to the partridges and pheasants. "Lord

Ashburton," we think we hear some veteran puss—some Miles or Richmond of the leporine race—address the assembled preserve, "Lord Ashburton may believe, or affect to believe, that by sacrificing us 'all complaints would be speedily got rid of.' But what says Lord Hatherton?—'he had destroyed hares and rabbits, and had found the pheasants and partridges increase in consequence.' Will these avaricious farmers, who seek to have the protection of the game-law withdrawn from us, tolerate this increase? Their success in obtaining an ostracism of hares will only encourage them to demand the proscription of pheasants and partridges. The grouse and black-cock may be left for a season unmolested in their heathy retreats, but all the game of the cultivated land will speedily share our doom. True conservatives ought to concede nothing; for every concession but encourages to fresh demands. If the stroke of a pen—the wording of an act can make hares, who have been game for centuries, no game, will not the prestige which attaches to all kinds of game be weakened? I may go further: if an act of Parliament can unmake game, it may also unmake peers. Our peerage and our game both came in with the Conqueror. Let the peers beware, lest in making no game of us they teach the Radicals to make game of them." Then, wiping his eyes with his tail, he may protest that it is not for himself, nor even for the dear and numerous progeny around him that he cares, but for the throne and the altar.

Beauties of the New Poor-Law.—The Poor-law Commissioners—the triumvirate of Somerset House—are at loggerheads with the Guardians of the Ruthin Union, Denbighshire. Not long ago, one of the relieving officers died, and the other was dismissed, in consequence of which it became necessary to fill the vacancies. After proper consideration and forethought, the Guardians came to the conclusion that the duties belonging to the Union could be more efficiently discharged by electing three relieving officers, at a salary of £55 each per annum, instead of two with a salary of £80 each, who were obliged to keep horses on account of the extent of the district. Proper notice of this proceeding was given to the London Triumvirate, who, as a matter of course, understand the interests of parishioners much better than they do themselves. The Guardians advertised for candidates, and the day of election was appointed. The election took place, and a notice of this was likewise given to the Commissioners. During the interval, no intimation was given to the Guardians that they were irregular in their proceedings. Some time after the election, the Commissioners requested the Guardians to show cause why three relieving officers had been elected. With all becoming deference, the Guardians transmitted their reasons for the consideration of their imperial highnesses. After a long silence the Commissioners refused to ratify the election. Upon this, the Guardians protested against their proceedings; and thus the matter remains at present. The Guardians are determined to resign unless the Commissioners will sanction their proceedings. We should be very glad to hear that the Commissioners in their turn would not only determine, but act on the determination, to resign at once. It is a strange insult to common sense to invest any three persons with such absolute authority as they possess. The parishioners that compose the Ruthin Union must be far more competent to form an opinion of the state of their union, than any strangers living in London; and it might be expected that the Guardians of these several parishes are entitled to a respectful hearing from the triumvirate on account of their intimate knowledge of the wants of the district.—*Correspondent.*

Executions.—By a return, yesterday printed, obtained by Mr. Ewart, Dumfries, a list is given of the number of persons executed for all crimes, and committed for murder, in England and Wales, from 1813 to 1833, as also the number of persons executed in London and Middlesex, from 1825 to 1845, inclusive. In 1813, as many as 120 persons were executed for all crimes, of which 20 were executed at York, and 17 in Middlesex (including London). In that year 30 were hung for murder: the number committed for murder was 87. For the three following years the executions (for all crimes) were under 100. In 1817 they numbered 115, in 1819 they were 108, and in the year following 107. In 1821 the number was 114, and from that year to the end of 1833, the number executed in England and Wales, for all crimes, was under 100 in each year. In 1833 (the last year mentioned), it appears that 33 were executed for all crimes; 52 were committed for murder, in 9 of which there was no prosecution; 30 were acquitted, 4 found to be insane, 9 were convicted, 6 were executed, and 3 commuted or pardoned. With respect to the executions in London for the last 21 years (1825 to 1835, inclusive), it appears that the executions in London and Middlesex, for all crimes, numbered 129, of which 24 were for murder. In the same period, 158 were committed for murder, and 37 convicted of the crime. The only triennial period in which no execution occurred in London was 1834, 1835, and 1836. In the seven triennial periods embraced in the return respecting London, the following result is given:—In 1825, 1826, and 1827, the number was 53; in the next triennial period, 52; in the next, 12; in the next, none; the next, 3; the next, 4; and the last, 5; so that in the last nine years, only 12 persons have been executed in London.

On Friday, the *Times* coupled a statement that Sir George Clerk is to proceed immediately to India, with the mention of a rumour that Sir George Pollock had retired from the Supreme Council of India. To-day the latter report is contradicted: Sir George is only to visit the Cape of Good Hope in order to recruit his health.

London University.—At the annual general meeting, on Wednesday last, of the proprietors of University College, it was stated that instructions would be given to the architect to make the necessary preparations for laying the first stone of the north wing of the Hospital on the 20th of May next. The President, Lord Brougham; the Vice-President, Lord Auckland; and the retiring members of the Council were all re-elected.

Troops for India.—We hear that considerable reinforcements have been ordered to be sent immediately to India. Six regiments of infantry and two of cavalry are stated to be preparing for that country.—*Globe*

THE FREE-TRADE DIVISION.

Saturday, February 28, 1846.

Majority for going into Committee on the Customs' and Corn Importation Acts.

LIBERALS.

Acheson, Viscount	Etwall, R	O'Connell, M J
Aglionby, H A	Evans, W	O'Connell, J
Ainsworth, P	Evans, Sir De Lacy	O'Conor Don
Aldam, W	Ewart, W	O'Ferrall, R M
Anson, Hon. Col.	Fielden, J	Ord, W
Baine, W	Ferguson, Colonel	Oswald, J
Bannerman, A	Ferguson, Sir R A	Paget, Col.
Barclay, D	Fitzgerald, R A	Paget, Lord A
Baring, Rt. Hon. F T	Fitzroy, Lord C	Palmerston, Viscount
Barnard, E G	Fitzwilliam, Hon. G W	Parker, J
Barron, Sir H W	Fleetwood, Sir P H	Pattison, J
Berkeley, Hon. C	Forster, M	Pechell, Captain
Berkeley, Hon. Capt.	Fox, C R	Pendarves, E W W
Berkeley, Hon. H F	Gibson, T Milner	Philips, G R
Bernal, R	Gill, Thomas	Phillipps, Sir R B P
Blake, M J	Gisborne, Thomas	Philips, M
Blewitt, R J	Gore, Hon. Robert	Phillpotts, J
Bouverie, Hon. E	Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir G Bt.	Pigott, Rt. Hon. D R
Bowes, J	Grosvenor, Lord R	Plumridge, Captain
Bowring, Dr.	Guest, Sir John	Power, J
Bridgman, H	Hall, Sir B, Bart.	Price, Sir R
Bright, J	Hastie, Archibald	Protheroe, E
Brocklehurst, J	Hatton, Capt V	Pryse, P
Brotherton, J	Hawes, B	Pulsford, R
Browne, R D	Hay, Sir A L	Rawdon, Col.
Browne, Hon. W	Hayter, W G	Redington, T N
Bulkeley, Sir R B W	Heathcoat, J	Roebuck, J Arthur
Buller, C	Heron, Sir R	Ross, David R
Buller, E	Hill, Lord M	Rumbold, C E
Busfeild, W	Hindley, C	Russell, Lord J
Butler, Hon. Col.	Hobhouse, Sir J	Russell, Lord E
Butler, P S	Horsman, E	Scott, R
Byng, G	Howard, Hon. C W G	Scrope, G P
Byng, Right Hon. G	Howard, Hon. J K	Seymour, Lord
Carew, Hon. R S	Howard, Hon. E G G	Shelburne, Earl of
Cavendish, Hon. C	Howard, P H	Smith, B
Cavendish, Hon. G H	Howard, Sir R	Smith, J A
Chapman, B	Hume, J	Smith, Rt. Hon. R V
Childers, J W	Humphrey, Ald.	Somers, J P
Christie, W D	Hutt, W	Somerville, Sir W
Clay, Sir W	James, W	Stanley, Hon. W O
Clements, Viscount	Jervis, J	Stansfield, W R C
Cobden, R.	Labouchere, H	Stanton, W H
Colborne, Hon. W N R	Lambton, H	Staunton, Sir G T
Colebrook, Sir T E	Langston, J H	Stewart, P M
Collett, J	Langton, W G	Stuart, Lord J
Collins W	Layard, Captain	Strickland, Sir G
Corbally, M E	Leader, J T	Strutt, E
Cowper, Hon. W F	Lemon, Sir C, Bart.	Tancred, H W
Craig, W G	Loch, J	Thornely, T
Crawford, W S	Macaulay, T B	Towneley, J
Currie, R	Macnamara, Major	Traill, G
Curteis, H B	M'Carthy, A	Trelawny, J S
Dalmeny, Lord	M'Taggart, Sir J	Troubridge, Sir E T
Dalrymple, Captain	Mangles, R D	Tufnell, H
Dashwood, G H	Majoribanks, S	Turner, E
Dawson, Hon. T V	Marshall, W	Vane, Lord H
Denison, J E	Marsland, H	Villiers, Hon. C
Dennistoun, J	Martin, J	Vivian, J H
D'Eyncourt, C T	Matheson, J	Vivian, Hon. Captain
Divett, E	Maule, Rt. Hon. F	Wakley, T
Duke, Sir J	Metcalfe, H	Walker, R
Duncan, Viscount	Mitchell, T A	Wall, C B
Duncan, G	Moffatt, G	Warburton, H
Duncannon, Viscount	Molesworth, Sir W	Ward, H G
Duncombe, T	Morpeth, Viscount	Wawn, J T
Dundas, Admiral	Morris, D	White, S
Dundas, D	Morison, General	Wilde, Sir T
Dundas, Hon. J C	Morrison, J	Williams, W
Easthope, Sir J	Mostyn, Hon. E M L	Wilshere, W
Ebrington, Viscount	Muntz, G F	Winnington, Sir T E
Ellice, Right Hon. E	Napier, Sir C	Wood, C
Ellice, E, jun.	Norreys, Sir D J	Wrightson, W B
Ellis, W	O'Brien, T	Wyse, T
Elphinstone, H	O'Connell, D	Yorke, H R
Esmonde, Sir T	O'Connell, M	

CONSERVATIVES.

Acland, T D	Feilden, W	Meynell, Capt.
A'Court, Captain	Fitzroy, Hon. H	Milnes, R M
Attwood, John	Flower, Sir J	Neville, R
Baillie, Colonel	Glynne, Sir S R	Northland, Viscount
Baillie, H. J	Godson, R	Oswald, A
Baird, W	Gore, M	Owen, Sir J
Baldwin, B	Goulburn, Rt. Hon. H	Paget, Lord W
Barkly, H	Graham, Rt. Hn. Sir J	Patten, J W
Baring, Rt. Hon. W	Greene, T	Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir R
Beckett, W	Gregory, W H	Peel, J
Benbow, J	Grimsditch, T	Pennant, Hon. Col.
Bodkin, W H	Hamilton, Wm. J	Polhill, F
Bottfield, B	Hamilton, Lord C	Praed, W T
Bowles, Admiral	Hanmer, Sir J	Reid, Sir J R
Boyd, J	Herbert, Rt. Hon. S	Reid, Colonel
Bruce, Lord E	Hervey, Lord Alfred	Russell, J D W
Buckley, E	Hogg, James Weir	Sandon, Viscount
Cardwell, E	Hope, Geo. William	Seymour, Sir H B
Carnegie, Hon. Capt.	Hornby, John	Smythe, Hon. G
Chichester, Lord J	Hughes, W B	Smollett, A
Clerk, Rt. Hon. Sir G	Jermyn, Earl	Somerton, Viscount
Clive, Hon. R H	Jocelyn, Viscount	Stewart, J
Cockburn, Sir G	Johnstone, Sir J	Stuart, H
Copeland, Ald.	Johnstone, H	Sutton, Hon. H M
Corry, Right Hon. H	Kelly, Sir F	Thesiger, Sir F
Cripps, W	Kirk, Peter	Tollemache, Hon. F
Damer, Col.	Lascelles, W S	Tomline, G
Dickinson, F H	Legh, G C	Trench, Sir F W
Douglas, Sir C E	Lockhart, A E	Vernon, G H
Douro, Marquis of	Lyall, G	Villiers, Viscount
Drummond, H H	Mackinnon, W A	Wellesley, Lord C
Dugdale, W S	M'Geachy, F A	Whitmore, T C
Eastnor, Viscount	M'Neill, D	Wood, Colonel
Egerton, W T	Mahon, Viscount	Wood, Colonel T
Egerton, Lord F	Mainwaring, T	Wortley, Hon. J S
Escott, B	Martin, C W	Wynn, Rt. Hn. C W W
Estcourt, T G B	Masterman, J	

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Young and Mr. Henry Baring.

Minority for Mr. Miles's Amendment, that "this House Resolve itself into the said Committee this Day Six Months."

LIBERALS

Bell, John	Heneage, E	Martin, T B
Cayley, Edward S	Hoskins, K	Sheridan, R B
Drax, J S W S E	Howard, Hon. H	Worsley, Lord
Heathcote, G J	Hurst, R H	

CONSERVATIVES.

Ackers, J	Duckworth, Sir J	Maclean, D
Acland, Sir T D, Bart.	Duncombe, Hon. A	Manners, Lord C
Acton, Col.	Duncombe, Hon. O	Manners, Lord J
Adare, Viscount	Du Pre, C G	March, Earl of
Adderley, C B	East, J B	Marton, G
Alford, Viscount	Egerton, Sir P	Maunsell, T B
Allix, J P	Emlyn, Visc.	Maxwell, Hon. J
Antrobus, E	Entwisle, W	Miles, P W S
Arbuthnott, Hon. H	Farnham, E B	Miles, W
Arkwright, G	Fellowes, E	Morgan, O
Astell, W	Ferrand, W B	Mundy, E M
Attwood, M	Filmer, Sir E Bart.	Neeld, J
Austen, Colonel	Finch, G	Neeld, John
Bagge, W	Fitzmaurice, Hon. W	Newport, Viscount
Bagot, Hon. W	Floyer, John	Norreys, Lord
Bailey, J.	Ffolliott, J	O'Brien, A S
Bailey, J, jun.	Forbes, W	Ossulston, Lord
Baillie, W	Forester, Hon. G C W	Packe, C W
Balfour, J M	Fox, S L	Pakington, J S
Bankes, G	Frewen, C H	Palmer, R
Baring, T	Fuller, A E	Palmer, G
Barrington, Visc.	Gardner, J D	Pigot, Sir R, Bart.
Baskerville, T B	Gaskell, J M	Plumptre, J P
Bateson, T	Gladstone, J N	Pollington, Viscount
Bell, M	Gooch, E S	Powell, Col.
Benett, J	Gordon, Hon. Cap.	Price, R
Bennet, P	Gore, W O	Pusey, P
Bentinck, Ld. G	Gore, W R O, jun.	Rashleigh, W
Blackburn, J	Goring, C	Rendlesham, Lord
Blackstone, W	Granby, Marquis of	Repton, G W J
Boldero, Capt.	Grogan, E	Richards, R
Borthwick, P	Hale, R B	Rolleston, Col.
Bradshaw, James	Halford, Sir H, Bt.	Round, C G
Bramston, Thos. Wm.	Hall, Col.	Round, J
Briscoe, Musgrave	Halsey, T P	Russell, C
Broadley, Henry	Hamilton, G A	Ryder, Hon. G D
Broadwood, Henry	Hamilton, J H	Sanderson, R
Brooke, Lord	Harcourt, G G	Scott, Hon. F
Brooke, Sir Arthur B	Harris, Hon. Capt.	Seymer, H K
Brownrigg, J S	Hayes, Sir E. Bt.	Shaw, Rt. Hon. F
Bruce, C L C	Heathcote, Sir W, Bt.	Sheppard, T
Bruen, Colonel	Heneage, G H W	Shirley, E J
Bruges, W H L	Henley, J W	Shirley, E P
Buck, Lewis W	Hill, Lord E	Sibthorp, Colonel
Buller, Sir J Y, Bart	Hinde, J H	Smith, Abel
Bunbury, Thomas	Hodgson, F	Smyth, Sir H
Burroughes, H N	Hodgson, R	Sotheron, T H S
Campbell, Sir H, Bt.	Holmes, Hn. W A'C	Spooner, R
Carew, W H Pole	Hope, Sir J, Bart.	Spry, Sir S
Castlereagh, Visc.	Hope, A J B	Stanley, E
Chandos, Marquis of	Hotham, Lord	Stuart, J
Chapman, Aaron	Houldsworth, T	Taylor, Captain
Chelsea, Visc.	Hudson, G	Taylor, J A
Cholmondoley, Hn. H	Hussey, T	Thomas, Alderman
Christopher, R A	Iugestre, Viscount	Thornhill, G
Churchill, Lord A S	Inglis, Sir R H, Bart.	Tollemache, J
Chute, Wm. L W	Irton, S	Tower, C
Clayton, R R	Joliffe, Sir W H	Trollope, Sir J
Clifton, J T	Jones, Captain	Trotter, John
Clive, Viscount	Kemble, H	Turner, C
Codrington, Sir W	Kerrison, Sir E, Bart	Tyrrel, Sir J T
Cole, Hon. H A	Knight, F W	Verner, Col.
Collett, W R	Knightley, Sir C	Vesey, Hon. T
Colquhoun, J C	Law, Hon. C E	Vivian, J E
Colvile, C R	Lawson, A	Vyse, R H
Compton, H C	Lefroy, A	Vyvyan, Sir R R
Conolly, Col.	Lennox, Lord G H	Waddington, H S
Coote, Sir C H, Bart.	Leslie, C P	Walpole, S H
Courtenay, Visc.	Liddell, Hon. H T	Walsh, Sir J B
Davies, D A S	Lockhart, W	Welby, G E
Deedes, W	Long, W	Wodehouse, E
Denison, E B	Lopez, Sir R	Worcester, Marq. of
Dick, Q	Lowther, Sir J H	Wyndham, Col. C
D'Israeli, B	Lowther, Hon. Col.	Wynn, Sir W
Dodd, G	Lygon, Hon. Gen.	Yorke, Hon. E T
Douglas, Sir H	Mackenzie, T	
Douglas, J D S	Mackenzie, F W	

Tellers for the Noes.—Major Beresford and Mr. Newdegate.

PAIRS.

Newry, Lord	Alexander, N
Blake, Sir V	Wyndham, J H C
Denison, W J	Nicholl, D
Dundas, F	Trevor, R
Holland, R	Hepburn, Sir T
Listowel, Lord	Lindsay, H
Maitland, T	Eaton, Captain
Ponsonby, C	Barneby, J
Rice, E R	Archdall, Captain
Rutherford, Rt. Hon. A	Williams, T P
Standish, C	Cresswell, A B
Stuart, W V	Bernard, Lord

Total.. ..... 11 Total..... 13

11 Liberal Pairs; the two first on the above list being Conservatives.

	Liberals.	Conserv.	Total.	
For	227	112	339	Teller included.
Against.....	11	231	242	Teller included.
Majority			97	

LIBERAL ABSENTEES—30.

Bodkin	Grattan, H	Powell, C
Archbold	Hallyburton, F G	Ricardo, T L
Armstrong, Sir A	Johnson	Roche, E B
Arundel, Earl of	Kelly, J	Sheil, R L
Bellew	Maher, N	Talbot, C R M
Berkeley, G	O'Brien, J	Tuite, H M
Callaghan, D	O'Brien, W J	Watson
Duff, J	O'Brien, C	Wemyss, Captain
French, F	Ogle, S C H	Westenra, Hon. Col.
Granger, T	Osborne	White, H

CONSERVATIVE ABSENTEES—15.

Ashley, Hon. H	Hamilton, C B	Ker, D S
Blakemore	Hampden, R	Lascelles, Hon. E
Burrell	Hardy, J	Mildmay
Dowdeswell	Hussey, A	Morgan, C
Foreman, T S	James, Sir W	Somerset, Lord G

The following is the analysis of the division:—

Liberals for		227
.. Absentees		30
.. Pairs		11
.. Against		11
Vacant (Mayo)		1
Speaker		1
		—281
Conservatives for		112
.. Against		231
.. Pairs		13
.. Absent		15
Vacant—Notts (2).. Bridport.. Wigan....		4
Total		656

Dickens's Letters on Social Questions.—Mr. Charles Dickens is doing good service to the cause of social progress, by the publication of occasional letters on topics of public interest at the present time. Amongst those which have already appeared in the *Daily News*, have been communications in favour of Ragged Schools, and of the abolition of capital punishments.

Irish Ecclesiastical Measures.—That Lord John Russell's celebrated appropriation clause will find a *fac simile* in Sir Robert's bureau, is generally understood. Until the repeal of the corn-laws shall have reached a more mature stage, it would be premature—perhaps injurious—to advert to the details of the Irish measures, which, I have been informed, are actually prepared for submission to Parliament at the earliest possible opportunity. I need not remind you that the chances are strongly against these measures being offered to Parliament by the hands of Sir Robert. But the ground is cleared away by him; and he has smoothened the path by which a Liberal successor—supported by the whole Peel party—will be enabled to carry those measures into effect.—*Correspondent of the Hants Independent.*

A meeting of Hampshire labourers was held on Tuesday. They, like the labourers of Dorsetshire, attest that they have been "protected" to the very verge of starvation.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

THE UNITED STATES.

By the packet-ship, Patrick Henry, New York advices to the 9th ult. inclusive, have been received. These advices contain the outline of the correspondence which has passed since the 1st of December last between Mr. Pakenham and Mr. Buchanan, the American Secretary of State, and with Mr. M'Lane, on the Oregon question, from which it will be perceived, that the twice-repeated offer of the British minister, to decide the whole question by arbitration, has been rejected, and that the extreme pretensions advanced by Mr. Polk, in his inaugural message, are now again enunciated. The full correspondence has not yet been received. It is, however, looked for hourly, a clipper schooner, of large tonnage, having sailed in company with the Patrick Henry for Liverpool, supposed to bring despatches for Government.

From that correspondence it appears that Mr. M'Lane, the American minister, called upon the Earl of Aberdeen, in order to procure the reasons of the warlike preparations then making by England.

The Earl of Aberdeen, however, informed him that the preparations making for defence had reference to the possibility of a rupture between England and the United States—they, however, had no particular reference to the possibility of such a rupture—that they were commenced before any difficulties between the two countries were remotely apprehended—that they would have been made had not the difficulties between the two countries existed—that he believed the nature of these preparations had been overstated—that they had no reference to the defence of remote places, but to all places peculiarly exposed. They were defences proper in time of peace to meet the possible dangers of a war, and such as every prudent nation would make for the security of its own Government. In conclusion, he again declares that the defences made and making have no immediate reference to the United States.

With regard to the Oregon question, Mr. Pakenham, on the 27th of December, renewed his offer to refer the question of the disputed part of the territory to any Sovereign or state which may be jointly agreed upon by the two Governments—

Mr. Buchanan replies, that as the proposition submitted merely names a partition of the territory in dispute to be referred to the powers of abitration, and not the question of title, he cannot consent to such an arbitration. The very terms of the proposition received would exclude arbitration upon the question of title to the whole territory, which is here claimed by the United States. The President, he says, does not believe that arbitration would lead to a clearance of difficulties; upon the contrary, he thinks it would involve the two countries in new difficulties.

On the 16th of January, Mr. Pakenham re-opened the subject:—He now wishes to state to the American Secretary of State, that England has claims to the Oregon territory wholly incompatible with the exclusive claim set up by the United States. But, supposing the British Government would consent to refer the entire question of title to arbitration, thus removing the form of reference objected to by Great Britain, he wished to know if it would be accepted by the United States? and if there should be objections to the reference to a crowned head, he submitted that it might be made to a mixed commission, with an umpire, or to a board of commissioners of legal ability, and in whom there should be a mutual confidence. If such reference should result in a disagreement as to an equitable division of the territory, would the United States agree upon the division which might be recommended?

Mr. Buchanan, in a letter dated the 4th of February, answers this letter. He says at first, that the last clause named would prevent the acceptance of arbitration, if presented in the form which had been named. The United States, if it would consent to arbitrate at all, would never consent to submit to any other question than that of title. A reason is then given why the United States should not consent to arbitration, and this reason is, that he does not believe that the claim and interests of the United States will admit of such an arbitration. Our claims are referred to again, and the whole disputed territory claimed again by the President. To no power, however intelligent or respectable, nor to any body of citizens, could the United States consent to refer a claim of a character like that she possesses to the Oregon country.

"This correspondence," says the *Courier and Enquirer* of the 9th ult., "is of very high importance, and diminishes very much the grounds upon which we have been hoping for a peaceful solution of pending difficulties. It will be seen, by our correspondent's letter, that our Government has declined to accept an offer of arbitration, made in two different forms by Great Britain, and that, too, upon the very offensive ground that, to accept it, would be to admit that Great Britain has rights in Oregon, and that the British Government has informed our minister at London, that her military preparations, though not commenced with special reference to this country, the condition of the Oregon question proves their expediency, and that they will be continued in reference to that question. The whole matter, not only with reference to pacific settlement, but with regard to the honourable and defensible positions of this country, seems now to be in the worst possible position."

NEW ZEALAND.

Letters and newspapers have arrived from Wellington, bringing the intelligence from that place down to the 19th August. They contain no important news beyond what reached us by way of India more than two months ago; but confirm the accounts of the three successive defeats of the troops by John Heki. They give some horrible details of the barbarities inflicted upon the bodies of some of our officers. It appears that Lieutenant Philpots (son of the Bishop of Exeter) was scalped by the natives, after the Indian fashion; the fleshy portions of Captain Grant's body were cut off and eaten; and it is stated, as "ascertained, beyond a doubt, that a soldier was roasted alive by these cannibals, and, after a part of his body was eaten, the remains were thrown over the palisades of the pah." The Governor is openly accused, and apparently without contradiction, of having fabricated, or sanctioned the fabrication of, a postcript to Colonel Despard's despatch of the 3rd of July, in order to conceal the fact of the mutilation of Captain Grant's body.

Auckland has been abandoned by more than a thousand of the population; and the remainder are described as being supported by the Government pay they receive, as many as can bear arms, for serving in the militia.

The Governor had issued debentures to the amount of nearly £40,000; which are, of course, at a heavy discount; and it is ascertained that forged ones to a great amount are in circulation. These have been traced to an official person; and public indignation is directed against the Governor for a supposed condonation of the crime.

In all the Company's settlements there was perfect tranquillity, and as much production going on as was possible under the circumstances; the natives being still in armed occupation of the Hutt, and no real progress made by the Government in the settlement of the land question.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

Mount Vesuvius.—Naples, Feb. 18.—Yesterday, and the day before yesterday, the firing of Vesuvius was heard at the distance of thirty miles like a continued cannonade, which lasted several minutes. This took place about mid-day, and we are, of course, looking out for something. The great "bocca" is said to have been sealed up, and the explosive force of the volcano has opened a new crater.

Abolition of Slavery in Tunis.—The *Akhbar*, of Algiers, publishes a letter from Tunis, announcing that the Bey has published an edict, declaring the emancipation of the black slaves throughout the whole extent of his states. It is declared that the foreign slave, who shall set foot within the regency, shall be thereby free—the law of the country henceforth refusing to recognise the existence of such a thing as compulsory servitude! Tunis and Algiers among the zealous anti-slavery provinces of the world!

The Belgian Government has just issued an *arrête royale*, according a premium for the importation of seed potatoes, and offering free transport for them by the railways.—*Morning Chronicle.*

A meeting has been held at Calcutta to collect subscriptions for the relief of the distressed Irish. No less than 23,356 rupees were at once subscribed.

The Reported Cruelties to Popish Priests.—The *Journal de Bruxelles* states, that the man who made the report respecting the escape of the ninety-seven Polish priests from Siberia has been arrested at Valenciennes, by order of the *Prefect du Nord.* The police, it appears, have ascertained that his statement is entirely devoid of truth, that he is no priest, and never was at Tobolsk (from which place he states he made his escape) in his life.—*Times.*

Re-appearance of the Cholera in Asia.—Letters from Persia speak in a truly touching manner of the destructive progress made by this pestilential disease in the interior of Asia. Coming from Cabul, the cholera had already reached Teheran. It is to be hoped that this pest will not prove so incapable of check as fifteen years ago, when the waves of the Atlantic Ocean alone put bounds to its advance.

The *Swabian Mercury* says, that the Austrian Government is preparing to adopt severe measures to check the schism in the Catholic Church, by banishing all those who join the new Evangelical Church. The same paper states that the Jesuits are to be allowed to establish themselves in the Austrian dominions.

Agricultural Prospects.—A correspondent, whose knowledge, judgment, and opportunities of observation, entitle his opinions to great weight, has just communicated to us the following notice of the agricultural phenomena of the season—"You will recollect how closely I attended last summer to the operation of the cold weather on the growing crops, and what a gloomy view I took of the future, as to quality, whilst the general opinion was that the yield would be first-rate. With the same close attention I am watching the effects of the present May weather in February. The result is very discouraging. The advance of the wheat crops already is such, that frost, which surely must come yet, will inevitably do great mischief. From the absence of frost, vermin abound and are getting strong. In the heavy lands, the cry is for frost as a means of rendering the soil workable for spring sowing. The turnips have grown so much, and are still growing so fast, that many farmers hereabouts give the feeding of them for nothing to any body who will turn cattle into their fields: they lose the turnips but get the manure. On the whole, I am persuaded that great mischief has been done already, and think it probable, that let what weather may come now, more will ensue. It seems likely, too, that this premature summer will be followed by cold spring weather in summer time, like that of last year. If it should be so after a very premature and sickly growth of everything, this year's yield will be wretched—certainly in quality, perhaps in quantity. I shall watch on, and perhaps write again."—*Spectator.*

Hours of Factory Labour.—Meeting of Master Spinners at Manchester.—The master spinners held another meeting yesterday afternoon (Tuesday), at three o'clock, at the offices of Messrs. J. and W. Heron, solicitors to the Association. The meeting was a tolerably numerous one. Mr. R. H. Greg presided. The subject of shortening the hours of labour to eleven daily was discussed at considerable length, and opinions were very much divided as to its practicability and expediency. The general impression ultimately appeared to be, that it was desirable to wait till the fate of the Ministerial measures, now under the consideration of the Legislature, should be known: and the meeting at length adjourned, about a quarter before five o'clock, to Tuesday next.—*Manchester Guardian.*

It is rumoured that Lord Lincoln is to be brought into the House of Commons for the borough of Carrickfergus, the present Conservative member, Mr. Peter Kirk, retiring for the purpose; and that Sir John Owen is to vacate his seat for Pembroke in Mr. Gladstone's favour.—*Sun.*

THE PEACE AND ANTI-MILITIA MOVEMENTS.

War in India.—A petition from 558 of the inhabitants of Reading, against voting the thanks of Parliament for the wars in the north of India, has been sent to London for presentation to the House of Commons. The petition is signed by twelve Ministers of religion, and a large number of freeholders, and is as follows:—

"The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of Reading—

"Respectfully showeth,—That your petitioners have recently heard of a great slaughter in remote parts of India, wherein many thousands of our countrymen and other warriors have perished—besides multitudes left to linger by wounds and sickness—and that for these melancholy transactions, it is proposed by the Ministers of the Crown to vote the thanks of Parliament.

"Your petitioners, in common with the public generally, do exceedingly deplore that blood and treasure should thus from time to time be wasted, in spreading misery among the kingdoms of the east, and mourning at home. And they regard these wars as abhorrent to humanity, and hateful in the sight of God, who can, if it please Him, call our nation to awful account for these aggradisements, committed by a people professing the Christian religion.

"That your petitioners, for the reasons aforesaid, and, believing with John Wickliffe,* 'that all such conquests are utterly worthless and untenable,' do humbly beseech the House of Commons, not to vote the thanks of Parliament for the wars in the Punjaub."

Reading, 27th February, 1846.

The inhabitants of Tottenham have adopted a petition against the enrolment of the militia, which has received the signature of 2,178 persons.

During the past week, we observe, there have been anti-militia meetings at Burnley, Hethersett (Norfolk), and Bolton. The latter meeting was attended by H. Ashworth, Esq., Mr. Crosland, Mr. Fyfe, Baptist minister, and Mr. Spencer Hall, the mesmerist.

Mr. Elihu Burritt, Lord Morpeth's "learned blacksmith," of the United States, has sent a hearty response to the international addresses from divers English towns, deprecating war, and recommending arbitration instead. Mr. Burrit has taken up the subject in the *Olive Leaves*, the name, apparently, of some small periodical which he publishes, and which has a large circulation.

Letter from W. S. Crawford, Esq., M.P., on the Militia movement.—The following communication from the honourable member for Rochdale, will be read with deep interest:—

London, Feb. 20th, 1846.

Dear Sir,—I have received your letter, together with petitions from the inhabitants of Rochdale, Smallbridge, and Littleborough, against the enrolment of the militia, which I shall take care to present to the House of Commons.

A question was lately put to Sir James Graham on this subject; he answered, that there was no immediate intention of enrolling the militia, but that it was intended to introduce a bill for consolidating and amending the militia acts, and by which the mode of raising that body, he expected, would be improved. Notwithstanding this statement, I think it is highly desirable the opinion of the country should be expressed, with regard to compulsory conscription in any form. Besides other objections, the system of balloting for the militia has always fallen with most unjust and intolerable pressure upon the poor; and I am satisfied there is no real necessity for resorting to such means of raising a militia body in any case in this country. I am convinced, that if it were necessary to provide for the defence of the native soil of Englishmen against foreign aggression, the voluntary services of the people would not be refused.

If, then, security against the possible contingencies of foreign war be their object, that security can best be obtained by such improvements in our political constitution as will give the people that just share of influence in the legislature which they do not now possess, but which they respectfully claim; and thus creating that assurance of just laws and good government which will always bind the hearts and affections of the people to the state. If this great basis of national defence be firmly established, no foreign enemy shall ever be able to raise a triumphant standard on British land. I am, dear Sir, yours, faithfully,

Wm. Sharman Crawford.

Mr. William Logan, Rochdale.

Probable Scarcity of Butchers' Meat.—The Smithfield report for Monday, in the *Times*, makes an announcement that will alarm all good housekeepers. "The importance of admitting foreign cattle into England free of duty begins to wear an aspect of unquestionable necessity. The stock of cattle and sheep in particular, in the country, is at this present moment so immeasurably below the demand, that the prospect of an extraordinary rise in the price of mutton and meat generally is no longer a question of doubt, but clear certainty, unless some means be taken to meet the consumption. It is doubtful, however, if even the proposed measure of the Premier will be adequate for the pressing exigency of the case; for it is well known that the surplus stock of cattle in Holland, France, Spain, or Germany, is small compared with the enormous consumption of meat in this country, and which surplus only, it may be expected, will come to this country. . . . The number of sheep on sale was considerably less than on any former occasion of a short supply; the number returned this morning being no more than 15,000 head. The mutton trade in consequence received increased stimulus, and a brisk trade ruled throughout at high prices."

Pardon.—The missionary convict, John Potter, the man who voluntarily gave himself up to justice as a returned convict, and was recently sentenced to be transported for life, has received a free pardon. It may be remembered that the motive for the man's self-denunciation was a desire to revisit Van Diemen's Land to assist in reclaiming the convicts by moral and religious instruction; as he had himself turned from his evil ways.

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* Wickliffe, the Reformer, born at Richmond, Yorks, 1324; master of Baliol college, Oxon, 1361; professor of divinity, and rector of Lutterworth, 1372; died at Lutterworth, 1384, aged sixty. About conquest he says, "The title to conquest is utterly worthless and untenable, unless the conquest itself be expressly commanded by the Almighty."

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

East Gloucestershire.—The Honourable Charles Henry Fitzroy Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, was elected on Thursday for East Gloucestershire, in the room of the Hon. Francis Charteris, who had resigned. After the nomination of the Marquis, Mr. Charteris was proposed by Mr. Samuel Bowly, a member of the Society of Friends, but a poll was declined; and the election of the Marquis of Worcester was accordingly declared.

South Nottinghamshire.—We mentioned in the postscript of our last number, that the result of the first days polling was, to give Mr. Hildyard a majority of more than 500 over Lord Lincoln. The voting on Wednesday was languid, Lord Lincoln's committee deeming success hopeless: but the booths were kept open till the latest hour, in accordance with a promise given by Lord Lincoln to that effect. The official declaration of the poll was made on Friday, by the Deputy-sheriff:—For Hildyard, 1,736; Lincoln, 1,049; majority for the Protectionist, 687. Both candidates addressed the electors. Lord Lincoln expressed himself mortified at the result of the contest; but assured the electors that he was as deeply impressed as ever with the truth of his new convictions, and that before long those who had rejected him would admit that it was he who was their true and real friend. He complained of the unfair means adopted by his opponents to prejudice the electors against him. He had been accused in handbills of having abandoned Protestantism and become Roman Catholic, and various other calumnies had been circulated. He charged Mr. Hildyard with having publicly stated that he had been guilty of extensive bribery. [Mr. Hildyard admitted that he had spoken of bribery, but added that he thought Lord Lincoln knew nothing at all about it: he attributed the bribery to the free-trade committee at Nottingham. Two of the voters were offered £23 each. Lord Lincoln inquired if the Protectionists would not make good their assertion by prosecuting the parties? Mr. Hildyard evaded the question.] Lord Lincoln denied that his agents had deceived him: his defeat was owing to parties who promised to support him going over to his opponent, and to the unfair means adopted by his opponents to misrepresent his opinions and intentions.

South Northamptonshire.—Capt. Vyse was elected on Tuesday, for South Northamptonshire, in the room of Mr. W. R. Cartwright, who had resigned. The election took place at Northampton without opposition. There was a dinner in the afternoon, at which Sir Charles Knightley is reported to have said:—"We agriculturists are like a farmer who, having bought a flock of sheep warranted sound, finds afterwards that one-half of them are turned rotten."

Representation of Wigan.—We are glad to learn, from the letter of our Wigan correspondent, that there has been some talk of putting Mr. W. E. Gladstone in nomination to supply the vacancy in the representation of that borough.—*Manchester Guardian.*

Bridport.—Mr. Baillie Cochrane, having been reminded by his constituents that he had solemnly pledged himself in 1844 to vacate his seat in case of his changing his political opinions, has stated in answer that he had quite forgotten the circumstance, but that he would at once resign, and present himself again as a candidate. He has offered himself for re-election. Mr. Romilly will probably oppose him in the Liberal interest.

Lord Dudley Stuart is named as the probable successor of Mr. Leader, for Westminster, should that gentleman, as is expected, resign.—*Globe.*

North Nottinghamshire.—On Saturday, at the nomination, the show of hands was declared to be in favour of Lord H. Bentinck, but Mr. Bailey, of Basford, who nominated Lord Lincoln, demanded a poll for his lordship. The usual preparations were made for a contest by the erection of polling booths, &c.; but the Free-traders have withdrawn their nomination of the Earl of Lincoln, his name having been put forward without his sanction.

Mr. Vincent's Tour in Scotland.—We perceive that Mr. Vincent is on his way to England, after a tour unexampled in success by any of his previous efforts. At the great *soirée* in the City-hall, Glasgow, the body of which was filled by a most influential audience, it was stated by Robert Reed, Esq., that Mr. Vincent had addressed about one hundred and fifty thousand people in Scotland. Tickets were sold for all the meetings. On Thursday and Friday week Mr. V. addressed two very large audiences at Gallashiels—one in the Relief, and the other in the Secession church. The meetings are reported at length in the *Border Watch*. The whole of last week was occupied at Hawick, four lectures were on the state of society, temperance, and education, and the churches were crowded to overflowing. On Thursday night, an address "on the intellectual and social condition of woman," &c., brought out a brilliant audience. Several hundred ladies attended. The Independent, Relief, and Secession Ministers took part in the meetings. On Wednesday night the Secession church was crowded to overflowing on the free-trade question, and the future prospects of the people. Mr. Thompson (Secession minister), in the chair. Mr. Vincent's sentiments were loudly cheered, especially those which referred to the suffrage and church movements, and their probabilities of success after the triumph of free-trade.

Recruiting.—In this town, for the last two or three weeks, recruiting parties have been very active, and we believe pretty successful in enticing and enlisting young men into the army. There have been as many as five recruiting parties in the town at once, and the scenes, as usual upon such occasions, have been most disagreeable to the eyes of respectable persons.—*Bolton Free Press.*

Lord Ashley.—This nobleman, the friend of the factory operative is, we understand, about to make a tour through the manufacturing district, for the advocacy of the Ten Hours Bill. Yesterday his lordship was to address the inhabitants of Preston.

WELSH SKETCHES.

No. IV.

NATIONALITY.

A great amount of national feeling, in the Irish sense of the term, does not exist in the principality! We have, it is true, our peculiar antipathies to the Saxon, and the Irish Celt, but those feelings do not lead us to any attempt to dissolve partnership with either people. We regard the English as too proud to sympathise with us in our poverty, and the Irish as too riotous and troublesome to be good neighbours. Still this is a kind of dislike, which the present generation of Welshmen can hardly account for, except as being hereditary. Our ancestors felt annoyed by the frequent invasions of the Irish, and they were not a little wronged by English aggressions. The feeling of hatred thus became deep-rooted and permanent, until at length, it formed a prominent feature in the Welsh mind. Centuries of cruel oppression are not easily blotted out from the records of a nation's memory. The loss of liberty, the overthrow of national independence, the subversion of political rights, the massacre of favourite bards, and the unjust impositions of tyranny, were exhibited before our forefathers in characters as prominent as our own eternal hills.

This, too, happened in the dark ages, when no rays of humanity and intelligence existed to warm and illuminate the darkest recesses of the mind. Thoughts of revenge and hatred were consequently harboured, and maintained undisturbed possession. Our forefathers were daily reminded, by the presence and insults of English officials, that they were a despised and oppressed people. The accents of their own language, so different to that of their task-masters, caused their hearts to throb with painful recollections. Centuries rolled on in this manner and left the remnant of a noble race in the same low and deplorable condition. Their warlike passions gradually withered away, but for a long period they thoroughly hated their neighbours for crimes committed by their ancestors.

When our great Llewelyn fell in 1282, the independence of Wales fell with him. Some of the Welsh nobility had previously allied themselves with Edward I., which did not a little to hinder the patriotic efforts of this lamented Prince from being successful. His speeches were eloquent, his trust in God was firm, and his love of father-land was strong and sincere. His union with Elen de Montforti involved him in national difficulties, besides alienating some of his own countrymen from his banners, and cooling the warm temperament of others. But in spite of these untoward circumstances, had it not been for the treachery of some of the Welsh nobility, Llewelyn would have triumphed; but the brave and patriotic were slain, our banner was torn, the red dragon became impotent, and Welsh independence fell to rise no more:—

"Who is he with eye dark gleaming,
Visage wild, yet noble seeming,
As the fount of life fast streaming,
Rolls its purple tide,
Low in anguish lying
Fleet his soul is flying,
Yet still is seen his warlike mien
Like some hero dying?
Cymm! 'tis thy Prince expiring!
Bravest of the race retiring
Thy last hope and pride!

"Near to where yon torrent rushes,
Great Llewelyn's life-drop gushes;
'Ebbing fast, though Death scarce crushes
His unconquered fire:'
Still for Cymm beating
His heart's pulse is fleeting;
Nor Saxon spear, that rankles near,
E'er can quell its greeting;—
Foes and friends alike despising;
Still for her in hope
His last sigh is expiring!"

When Llewelyn fell, the national heart was broken. It made one convulsive effort afterwards, at the bidding of the heroic Owen Glyndwr, who was born in 1348, and was one of Llewelyn's descendants. This proved unsuccessful, and the Welsh resigned themselves to their fate, and became more attached to their conquerers after the ascension of Henry VII. to the throne of England. They have since been distinguished by their attachment to the ruling sovereign, and their quiet submission to the laws. The Chartist outbreak, in 1839, can hardly be mentioned as an exception to this, since the prime movers were not of "our nation"—ignorant men, in the mining districts, conceived themselves oppressed by their masters, many of whom are either Englishmen or Scotchmen, and thus fell an easy prey to designing men. The Rebecca riots were certainly of a different nature, but these originated with some of the worthless and mischievous individuals, who had absconded from the mining districts at the time of the Chartist insurrection.

We sometimes lament that Welsh nationality is at such low ebb. Our country is one of the most interesting, but of this country we have no history accessible to the mass; we have no biographies of our great men; we have but faint and unsatisfactory traditions of the renowned deeds of Arthur. The laws of Howel Dolâ are not in general circulation. The literature of our country for many centuries is unpublished, and is not within the reach of the people generally. In short, we have no national books, partly because the population is limited, and partly because the people do not feel interested in the subject of nationality. Religion is the all-engrossing and pervading idea of the Welsh mind, "and having food and raiment," they are "therewith content." If, perchance, they visit some of our memorable battle fields, and "finds it impossible to abstract the mind from all local emotions," they will acknowledge that those feelings of regret are to be held in subjection to the dictates of the peaceful morality of the New Testament. They may sigh in treading Rhuadlan Marsh, and feel a sacred delight whilst gazing on the field where the battle of Alleluia was fought and won, yet neither will suggest the thought of recalling the terriffic reign of martial glory. The national mind has been re-cast in the mould of the gospel. The spirit of war has perished, and the echo of the war-song has ceased to be resounded from our rocky mountains. Amid the hills and valleys of Wales, the reign of peace has commenced; may it last as long as its cloud-capped mountains!

The decrease of warlike feelings must be attributed, in some measure, to the perversion of our national music. The harp is no more regarded with those feelings of enthusiastic delight which animated the bosoms of our brave ancestors. It has ceased to be the nation's favourite, though it may still be national property. It now resounds in the haunts of revelry and mirth. Tavern landlords have, with their usual craftiness, availed themselves of its bewitching strains to dupe their besotted customers. Hence the religious public have declared war against instrumental music. They have been so shocked by the abuse that they have made themselves proof against all arguments on its behalf. Having no conception of the power of music over the human mind, they have given it over to the undisputed possession of his infernal majesty. Hence all those songs which had a tendency to excite the mind and create a thirst for war have ceased to attract the attention of the people in general. National costumes and our national emblem—the leek—are far from being universally regarded. The Eisteddvoden are conducted by individuals who have personal or local gratification more at heart than the real elevation of national literature.

Our nationality is most strikingly illustrated in our love of country, and our regard for our venerable language. The country is our own. We are no invaders. Its winding rivers, its stupendous mountains, its deep and narrow valleys, and its bleak hills, are our paternal estate. Our local habition has been fixed within its boundaries by the Creator of all. Welsh patriotism fixes its abode in the deepest recesses of the heart. The further the Welshman goes from his country, the more ardently attached he becomes to it. To speak against the language is a capital crime, and he who does it will not be forgiven. And why should he? In the eloquent and burning words of Mr. D. Rhys Stephen, at the last Eisteddvod at Abergavenny—"Our case is thus: the Welsh is a living tongue. The language of the chosen tribes is dead—you find it only in books—and the Turk is lord of Palestine. The language of Socrates and Demosthenes is dead, and Greece exists as a nation on the mere notion of a balance of power. The language of Cæsar and Cicero is dead, and Rome is merely an ecclesiastical state. The language of Boadicea, of Caractacus, of Taliesin, and Aneurin, is living, buoyant with all the vital energy of robust health—is daily spoken by eight hundred thousand human beings, the principal medium of their communication with man, the only one of their converse with God. Is it patriotism—is it religion—is it common sense—for us to unite in conspiracy against this language, venerable in its hoary antiquity, unsurpassed in its copiousness and strength, and consecrated to hundreds of thousands by the dearest and most awful associations; or is it our duty as Welshmen, as thoughtful men, as religious men, to render it all the homage in our power, and especially to facilitate to the utmost the instruction and improvement of our countrymen through its medium?" These things being most assuredly believed by the Welsh people, they can have no possible sympathy with those would-be-benefactors of their country who would not wish to postpone the *euthanasia*, or the easy death, of our venerable language. Let the English be added to it, by all means, for we love the language and the people by whom it is spoken; but let us never hear the senseless cant of those who are unable to appreciate its beauties, urging us either to lay violent hands on its hoary antiquity, or to let it die a natural death, unless we are prepared to become a laughing-stock to all civilised nations. We are, therefore, of opinion that the Government ought to provide means whereby the English language may be acquired by the mass of the people, or enact that the laws should be administered in Welsh. By some judges, our being Welshmen, and unable to speak English, is considered a crime. Jurymen have been turned out from the jury-box on that account; and witnesses have been refused their expenses, on account of their refusal to give evidence which would affect the character and liberties of their fellow-subjects in a language in which they could not express themselves with confidence. We consider this a heavy grievance, and one that ought to be redressed with every possible speed. Our love of our country and our language remains undestructible; the fire of patriotism burns with unquenchable ardour in our bosoms; and whilst thus cultivating some of the most endeared feelings of the human heart, it is neither justice nor humanity in our rulers to deprive us of our political rights, because we love our father-land.

The Explosion near Dover.—The county Coroner, having seized on the bodies of the sufferers, proceeded to hold an inquest on them on Saturday. After a long inquiry, during which the Coroner explained to the jury the violation and vindication of their rights, the following verdict was returned:—"That the deceased were killed by the explosion of a large quantity of gunpowder, but how the same became ignited there is no evidence to show."

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—I beg your permission to offer a few observations, through the medium of your next number, in reply to your respected Welsh correspondent's letter in your last. I feel reluctant thus to trespass again upon your columns, but this shall be my last.

In these times of general excitement and great movements, it is indeed highly important that the principles and tendencies of public institutions should be carefully and critically examined, that a watchful eye be kept upon their motions, lest they infringe on the sacred rights of Christian liberty, and thus become greater obstructions to the cause of free and pure Christianity than those evils they seek to remove. I honour your correspondent for his honest jealousy in this matter. Should the proposed Evangelical Alliance ever assume an ecclesiastical bearing, should it ever presume to stifle freedom of opinion, and the liberty of discussion respecting the church and state question, or any other question, I, for one, would regard its formation as a calamity, and its dissolution a *consummation devoutly to be wished.* Christian truth and Christian liberty are not to be sacrificed on the altar of Christian union. A union attained by such means would be no *Christian* union at all, consequently worse than worthless.

But my friend seems to have overlooked the fact—a fact to which the Liverpool Conference invited special attention —*that the union sought to be accomplished, is a union without compromise.* This was not a mere casual remark, but was the subject of a lengthened conversation, consequent upon the full and explicit declaration of his sentiments respecting the church and state question made by Dr. Cox. No surrender of opinion or of the liberty to express opinions hostile to civil establishments of religion are required. These sentiments are embodied in one of the resolutions unanimously adopted by the Conference.

I hope that the frank acknowledgments and explanations of Sir C. E. Smith, of which you gave extracts in your last week's paper, will convince my friend that the leaders of the Alliance are not *anxious to show fight to all concerned in the anti-state-church movement.* The lucubrations of the *Record* and the *Watchman* are not attributable the Alliance, nor do they stand in any way connected with it.

My friend says, that it is a *notorious fact, that the leaders of the Alliance are not the most prominent advocates of the separation of the church and state.* He will not be disposed to deny, methinks, that Drs. Cox, Wardlaw, Young, and King, are among the most prominent and deservedly eminent champions of the church and state antagonists, and those honoured names are to be found among those whom may be regarded as the leaders of the Alliance, and should, I think, be regarded as a sufficient guarantee, that the Alliance will not stand in the way of the Anti-state-church Association. Let each movement pursue its own objects in its own way, and not interfere in each other's business. There are many who are members, or stand connected with both movements, and take prominent parts in their public meetings.

We have *distinctly informed the readers* of the Welsh newspaper alluded to, "that the aggressive movement in regard to state-churches is not to be abandoned," and are ready to do so again. We shall surely "remember the Anti-state-church Association" in our future numbers; we propose to discuss the establishment question often in our pages, and hope that we shall be enabled to conduct the discussion in a cool and Christian temper. It may be interesting to my friend to know, that the Welsh John Burnet, my friend, Mr. Pugh, of Mostyn, who has stood for the last fifteen years as the able and renowned champion of Nonconformity in Wales, conducts one department of the *Amseran.* My friend is hardly just to the editor of the *Dysfedydd* in saying, that he denounced one of his correspsndents in harsh terms, for venturing to recommend the *Eclectic* in preference to the *British Quarterly*, on account of the anti-state-church character of the former, whilst the substance of the remark made by that Editor was, that it was not fair to prejudge the *British Quarterly*, because it had not then made its appearance. And we are happy to find that that journal has proved to be a faithful and able coadjutor to the *Eclectic* in that respect.

I am Sir,
THE EDITOR OF THE WELSH NEWSPAPER.
Liverpool, Feb. 23, 1846.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—It is a matter of deep regret to many poor ministers in the principality, that the price of your talented paper is such as to render it inaccessible to them. Could no plan be suggested for their benefit? Are there any parties that would have the kindness to favour such persons as would be recommended by yourself with their papers after perusing them? Or that would be willing to dispose of their copies, at a low price, in a day or two after publication? I am sure that any arrangement to this purpose would not fail to do much good in diffusing sound Nonconformist principles among the Welsh people.

And here is a special case. In a populous mining district, there is a very excellent minister, labouring hard for the sake of the gospel, who is very anxious to see the *Nonconformist.* Why not order it then? Simply, because that he cannot pay for it. *His church is but young and weak; and he has a wife and six children to maintain, on a small salary.*

In addition to his regular Welsh services, he has established an English cause, close by his own chapel, in spite of every possible discouragement. I trust that some English friends will testify their gratitude for such noble exertions by favouring him with your paper.

If any friend or friends will feel themselves disposed to act on the above suggestion, may I beg of you, sir, to favour them with his address, which I now forward.

I am, Mr. Editor, your's respectfully,
A WELSH MINISTER.

FIVE PERSONS POISONED.—At the village of West Derby, near Liverpool, an oil and colour manufactory was carried on by Mrs. Gilton, a widow, who lived with her family in a house adjoining the works. Some months since, twenty-eight pounds of arsenic were dissolved in a cask of water for the purposes of manufacture; but there had been no occasion to use it since. The dwelling-house was supplied with water from a well in the boiling-house; by some means a portion of the solution of arsenic got into the well; Mrs. Gilton and her children partook of tea made from the water, and they were all poisoned: the whole family—Mrs. Gilton, a boy of seven and another of twelve, and two daughters of the ages of fifteen and sixteen—all have perished.

LITERATURE.

The Sabbath-Day Book; or, Scriptural Meditations for every Lord's-Day in the Year. By J. LEIFCHILD, D.D. pp. 360. Religious Tract Society.

THIS book is written chiefly for the benefit of those whose circumstances compel them to spend the whole, or a portion, of the Lord's-day at home, and whom it is thought desirable to assist and encourage to engage in a religious service resembling that of which they are deprived. We presume that few will question the propriety of this object. But as to the mode in which it is sought to be attained, we imagine that some diversity of opinion may exist. These meditations are condensed sermons, averaging about seven pages each. On the same principle that we would like to see the publication of sermons checked, unless marked by some unusual excellences, we are unable to say that we discern any great necessity for such a volume. We can, of course, make no particular exception to these discourses. They possess, as all who know Dr. Liefchild's characteristics will expect to find, solid and substantial worth—rich in evangelical sentiment, fluent thought, apt illustration, and practical tendency. But, we confess, we would rather that Christians, compelled to tarry at home on the Lord's-day, pored over some of the deeper, harder, treatises of our older divines, than the comparatively slight and superficial productions of the modern pulpit.

Forest and Game-Law Tales. By HARRIET MARTINEAU. In three volumes. Vol III. pp. 259. Moxon, 1846.

THIS is the third and last volume of Miss Martineau's tales illustrative of the operation and influence of past and present game-laws. The design of "Gentle and Simple," the title of the story which it contains, is to exhibit the character of existing enactments. For this purpose, a poor simple lad is introduced, commencing his course by innocently taking a partridge's nest with fourteen eggs in it, and ending it by transportation for bold midnight poaching, accompanied with violence. The effect of the laws on the circumstances, associations, and especially moral character, of this poor lad is well described, occasionally with fine knowledge of human nature. Many other persons are brought forward, all in different ways, showing the injustice, severity, and impolicy of the law as it at present stands. Squires, clergymen, farmers, peasants, are all made to contribute their portion of condemnation, in lip or life, or both. There is too much crowding of evils into this brief story, but we cannot see how that could be avoided. To give anything like a fair picture of the consequences of the game-laws to all classes, within the compass of one short narrative, must necessitate the appearance of exaggeration. Miss Martineau has furnished a condensed representation of a very large and important subject, and one that will advance the earnest hope of our hearts.

A Few Words on the Subject of Evangelical Alliance. Addressed to Congregational Dissenters. By ONE OF THEMSELVES. pp. 12. C. A. Bartlett.

THE object of this pamphlet is to uphold the Evangelical Alliance, and to condemn the Anti-state-church Association. The author professes to be a Dissenter on grounds of doctrine, and the principle of anti-state interference; but exceedingly indignant is he with the Association on many grounds. One is, "*its opposition to the Alliance.*" The author ought to know, that there is no opposition. Whatever individuals may do or say, the Association, as such, neither does nor can oppose the Alliance. It would be just as true to speak of the opposition of the Alliance to the Association—more true, we fear. The writer is evidently misinformed as to the actual character and temper of the Association, or he would not write, "There is just the difference between a calm and simply argumentative advocacy of this principle, and the mode pursued by the Association, as there is between a friendly discussion with a man, and putting one's-self into an attitude for knocking him down." We are bold to say, in utter ignorance of our man, that he has not read through a single publication of the Association with care. A more mistaken mode of putting the case cannot be imagined than that adopted by him. "Suppose the case to be reversed; that some hundreds of the clergy and members of the established church were organised expressly to put down Dissent," &c.—can any analogy be found? The writer falls into the old error of confounding the *church* and the *establishment.* The Association seeks only the dissolution of a connexion which injures the church—it has no reference to its doctrine and discipline, except as affected by that connexion. If putting down the establishment be really putting down the church—if the church have no being and power apart from the establishment—in our humble judgment, the sooner it is done the better. When Dissenters speak, or seem to speak, of the established church as principally a civil institution, they are lustily reproved; and yet how many of its defenders justify them in so doing—our Nonconformist author among the rest?

We cannot devote more room to this pamphlet. We think the author mistaken. We advise him not to confound love of ease with love of peace, nor prefer a temporary to a permanent union. Let him see how the question of established churches is threatening the connexion of even Dr. Candlish and others with the Alliance. We are quite sure, that he who does most to put an end to such violations of the law of liberty, righteousness, and charity, does most for both the purity and the peace of the wisdom from above. In the meantime, we say as to the Alliance, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." If it do really promote a healthy, honourable, and lasting feeling of sympathy and kindness, we shall heartily rejoice.

An Essay concerning the Origin of Evil; including Thoughts on the Nature and Power of Created Will, both in its Perfect and Fallen State. By JOHN BULL. pp. 43.

WRITTEN by a person evidently accustomed to think, and containing some good reflections; it is yet not saying much against this pamphlet that it throws no new light on the difficult questions that it handles.

Glimpses of the Dark Ages; or, Sketches of the Social Condition of Europe from the Fifth to the Twelfth Century. pp. 192. The Religious Tract Society.

THIS is the second publication of the "Monthly Series," and deserves to be spoken of in the same tone as the first. The writer has confined himself to the "social condition" of Europe during the period selected for illustration, and of that condition he has presented a correct and interesting view.

THE FAMILY COMPANION.

A PLEA FOR OUR CLIMATE.—King Charles II. was not a Solomon (in all respects), but he said some very shrewd things, and amongst others, he one day told his courtiers that he considered the climate of England to be the best in the world, because there was no other in which a man could labour out of doors, exposed to the weather, with less risk to his health and inconvenience to himself, for so many hours in the day and so many days in the year, as he could in England. And this, after all, is the true test to try climate by. I admit, at once, that our sky is not a show one. We cannot exhibit such transparent depths—such unclouded expanses of azure as Italy can. We have no such moon as shines on Mediterranean waves or on tropical Savannahs. Our sun-risings and sun-settings may, as Byron as described them, be merely "obscurely bright." But, after all, where is the grand advantage of indigo-coloured skies, and moons as shiny as that in the Colliseum, and brilliant sun-rises which nobody gets out of his bed to look at, and gorgeous sunsets which nobody will leave his dinner to admire? Cannot all the ordinary occupations of life—those occupations which employ us and make us happy and great—be as well performed under a mild and cloud-tempered firmament, as under the blaze of a scorching sun which, as in the West Indies, favours a man with a brain fever if he sleep in it by day,—or as under that be-sonnetted moon, which gives a man the mumps if he repose in its mild rays by night? Here, in happy contrast with the fervid east, "the sun does not smite by day, nor yet the moon by night." I give up, therefore, to more favoured lands bright suns and *coups de soleil*—lustrous moons, and the swelled faces of their worshippers—and content myself with our sky, under which we can work, or travel, or enjoy ourselves, not perhaps often stimulated by the actual power of the weather, but seldom or never prevented from doing what we wish through its influence. In fact, the prevailing characteristic of our climate is its negative featnres. Its tones are rather neutral than either very warm or very cold. Spring, summer, autumn, winter, we can go about our business without let or hindrance. A slight change of dress enables us, without much more inconvenience, to meet the changing temperatures of the seasons. We are hardly ever kept within doors by either heat or cold. We have not to snooze away the fiery fury of the summer's noon in listless siestas, or to while away the winter's evening crouched over a stifling stove. Again, we have no dreary wet seasons, as in the tropics, where all nature is turned into a big shower bath for nearly half a year. We have no long lingering winters, as in the United States, or the more northern countries of civilised Europe, where ice chains the rivers, and snow hides the green pleasantness of earth for months together. We are free from the terrible variations of temperature which these zones are afflicted with, and from all the abominations which they involve. We are not frost bitten in winter, nor mosquito bitten in summer. We have no dire pestilence rising from unwholesome vegetation forced into rank luxuriance by a worm-breeding sun. True—our climate has its inconveniences on the score of health, but they can generally be guarded against by care and attention. At all events, a cold in the head is not so deadly as ague from Italian malaria, and I would go the length of preferring even a sharp twinge of rheumatism to a decidedly mild bout of yellow fever. We have, then, I contend, almost all the substantial goods of climate. We can then afford to give up some of its more fanciful beauties. If the sky lets us go about our business in comfort, it is too bad to quarrel with it for not being blue enough—and if the sun shines well enough to enable us to see our fair land, the green of its meadows, and the verdure of its trees, do not laugh at the luminary because the thermometer is not ninety-five degrees in the shade. But I by no means actually give up blue skies and moonlit nights. We have them occasionally—often. The firmament every now and again does put on its very best dress,—but—a corner and the dunce's cap to the urchin who blubbers for his Sunday clothes every day in the week! —*Douglas Jerrold's Magazine.*

THE PLAGUE OF THE TONGUES.—The Chinese are a wise people, and sententious accordingly: they have written up in their Loo-loo, or National Council Hall, at Pekin, certain mottoes appropriate to the place. We extract some for the benefit of members of our House of Commons. "Keep in the sheath the sword that wanteth an edge." A hint to you, O Protectionists, prophets in your own counties, who fight with weapons that you would do well not to flourish in the sunlight, as you have been doing of late, to the great revealing of lath and tinfoil instead of sheer edge and shining steel. "An empty bladder hisseth when it is pricked," even as you hissed, when your quondam heaven-born Minister turned recreant in the cause of rent, and legislated for the hungry. "Men know not that the bell is cracked until they hear it tolled:" and there is many a one among you, worthy sitters on either side the House, who, by the aid of a frisky eye and a stolid face, might have passed for a Sir Oracle, had you not marred all by most irrational utterance.—*Almanack for the Month.*

The Electrical Girl.—At the Paris Academy of Sciences, on the 18th of February a communication was made respecting the "Electrical Girl." Before we mention the almost incredible things related of her, we must say something of her history. Angélique Cotton is thirteen, a native of the department of the *Finistère*, where she was employed in a thread-glove manufactory as a winder. One day, whilst at work with her companions, the reel on which she was winding thread was suddenly projected from her. The circumstance excited surprise; the reel was replaced, when the same effect was renewed. It was then evident that Angélique herself was the cause. The affair made a noise in the village, and the *curé* was called in. It was supposed by them that she was possessed, and an exorcism was had recourse to, but no devil came out. After the priest, the doctor was applied to, but he was as unable to effect a cure as the *curé* had been. Another doctor then visited her, and witnessed the same effects as the other had seen, but being a sensible man, he made no attempt to cure an affection which he did not understand. This gentleman induced the mother of Angélique to send her to Paris, and accompanied her. A few days ago, she was taken to the Observatory, where Messrs. Arago, Mathieu, Laugier, and Goujon, witnessed the following experiments:—A piece of paper, placed upon the edge of a table, was immediately attracted by the left hand of the girl. She then, holding her apron in her hand, approached a *guéridon*, which was pushed back, although the apron scarcely touched it. The next experiment was to place her in a chair with her feet on the ground. The chair was projected with violence against the wall, while the girl was thrown the other way. This experiment was repeated several times, and with the same results. M. Arago laid his hand upon the chair to prevent its moving, but the force was too great for his resistance, and M. Goujon, having seated himself on a part of the chair, was thrown off as soon as Angélique had also taken her seat. Such, said M. Arago, were the facts witnessed, and he had seen nothing to justify an opinion that any deception had been practised. Since then, other experiments have been performed by Dr. Tauchon. This gentleman had the chair in which Angélique was seated held by two powerful men. In this instance it was not driven away, but broke in their hands. A table, a *guéridon*, and a heavy sofa were projected by the mere contact of the girl's clothes. Dr. Tauchon ascertained that the chair in which she sits is first attracted, and next repulsed. When Angélique is isolated from the ground by a glass stool, oiled silk, or any other non-conductor of electricity, the projections do not take place. A loadstone being placed near the left hand, which alone is magnetic, she experienced different sensations, according as the north and south poles were applied, and could tell with which pole she was in contact. She is repulsed by the north pole. She experiences violent commotions, when the electric discharges take place, and suffers greatly from them. It is in the evening, between seven and nine, about an hour after she has dined, that her electrical power is most strongly developed. Her pulse then beats from 105 to 120 per minute.—*Galignani.*

A STUDENT'S FANCY.

I have an independent mind
That scorns the meanness of deceit;
I never could my conscience blind
To what it once esteem'd a cheat.

I bind myself to no man's creed,
I yield to no establish'd saw,
Unless that I believe indeed
That truth alone ordains it law.

I would not have it said of me,
That any deed of mine had taught
A slavish world to bend the knee
Before vile custom's Juggernaut.

Let Nature ever write my name
Although the world of fashion laugh;
And be the issue praise or blame,
I'll copy no man's autograph.

When such the case, whate'er I say,
Though mark'd by no uncommon wit,
At all events with reason may
Acquitted be of counterfeit.

* * * * *

Religion is the vilest scheme
Which craft for selfish gain has wrought,
Or else it is the noblest theme
That ever lordly reason taught.

If but of power another phase,
That would to rule the world aspire,
Let churches for a bonfire blaze,
Let bibles serve to feed the fire.

But if unbiass'd mind assent
To Gospel truth's asserted claim,
Let reason prove what reason meant
In giving it a holy name.

* * * * *

I'm one of those who yield belief
To evidence we can't deny—
That God became a man of grief,
For sinners on the cross to die.

We must not doubt because we see
Consistent testimonies few;
Apostate though the preachers be,
The Testament itself is true.

University, Durham. TOGATUS.

SONNET.

THE COVENANTER MAIDEN'S MARTYRDOM.

(From "Thirty-six Nonconformis. Sonnets,")

By a Young Englander.

She stood upon the beach; the swelling tide
Was gradual coming up, but she was chain'd
Fast to a stake. Yet, as the waters gain'd
Upon her helplessness, unterrified,
The solemn coming on of death she eyed,
Serenely smiling; for her heart sustain'd
Sweet peace that fail'd not, faith that never waned.
Above upon the rocks might be descried,
Amidst his myrmidons, with scowling brow,
The fiendish Claverhouse, his cruel gaze
Feasting on that sad sight. But hark! she prays,
"Father, thy will be done," and o'er her now
The stifling billow sweeps, and eddying plays
The surface, big with her expiring throe.

GLEANINGS.

Subject for one of the Frescoes in the House of Commons.—The expulsion of the Franks from St. Martin's le-Grand, by Rowland Hill.—*Almanack for the Month.*

From recent surveys, it is believed that Barbadoes contains extensive coal fields.

Gift to Phrenology.—About £15,000 have been bequeathed to the Phrenological Society of Edinburgh, by the late Dr. Robertson, of Paris, who died in 1840, and who had taken a warm interest in the subject for nearly thirty years.

Godfrey's Cordial again!—On the 18th instant, at Water Stratford, an infant died of convulsions, brought on, as proved at the inquest, by having this quack medicine given her.

Impudence.—A foreigner, with a very prominent nasal promontory, was accosted by a little boy, upon landing at the Custom House, with "If you please, sir, do you want a porter to carry your nose?"

Hint to Bachelors about to Emigrate.—A judge in North Carolina has decided, that speaking or bowing three times to a girl, is equivalent to an engagement; and that if the gentleman does not ask her hand in marriage, she can sue for a breach of promise, and recover heavy damages. —*St. Louis People's Organ.*

The Mixed Style.—In the churchyard of Deskford, near Cullen, Banffshire, is the following epitaph:—

"Hic jacet Johannes Anderson, Aberdoniensis,
Who built the churchyard dyke at his own expenses."

The Queen of Portugal and the King Consort are said to walk daily through the streets of Lisbon unattended, and have been known, on occasions of differences of opinion (not very unfrequent), to separate, and walk independently. The King Consort is considered an admirable horseman, and excels in all manly exercises.

Can it be True?—An old gentleman, who has dabbled all his life in statistics, says he never heard of more than one woman who insured her life. He accounts for this by the singular fact of one of the questions on every insurance paper being, "What is your age?"—*Almanack for the Month.*

Method of Reading.—Every man should keep minutes of what he reads. Every circumstance of his studies should be recorded; what books he has consulted; how much of them he has read; at what times; how often the same authors; and what opinions he formed of them at different periods of his life. Such an account would much illustrate the history of his mind.

The Most Extraordinary Event of the Month.—Without exception, the most extraordinary event of the month, if not of the nineteenth century, is the blush of Sir James Graham. This singular phenomenon was actually seen in the House of Commons, on February the 10th, at twenty-five minutes to ten, p.m.—*Almanack for the Month.*

A fossil tree, seventeen feet long, with branches varying from four to twelve inches in diameter, was extracted the other day from Dukinfield colliery, embedded in gray slate, immediately under the cannel coal, 1,100 feet from the surface of the ground. It will be presented to the Manchester Geological Society.

The number of newspapers transmitted through the general post-office for despatch by the morning mails has increased to such an extent, that, notwithstanding the many additional appointments which have been made, and the enlargement of the building, it is with the greatest difficulty the business can be got through in time. The number of newspapers on Saturday mornings now averages about 40,000.

A Nun's First Wish.—Southey, in his "Omniana," relates the following:—"When I was last at ——, a nun made her escape from the Irish nunnery. The first thing for which she inquired, when she reached the house in which she was to be secreted, was a looking-glass. She had entered the convent when only five years old, and from that time had never seen her own face."

The Great Besetting Sin.—If you ask me which is the real hereditary sin of human nature, do you imagine I shall answer pride, or luxury, or ambition, or egotism? No; I shall say indolence—who conquers indolence will conquer all the rest.—*Lavater's Aphorisms.*

Father Mathew has published a letter in the public journals, which speaks in the strongest terms of the excellent quality and pleasant taste of the Indian corn imported by Government to supply the want of food caused by the destruction of the potato crops.

A Pleasant Visitor.—Among the arrivals yesterday by the *James Watt*, from Havre, was a Manchian Baboon, seven feet high!

BIRTHS.

Feb. 23, at Loughborough, the wife of Mr. T. James, minister, of a son.

Feb. 26, at Grey-terrace, Dover-road, Mrs. J. A. Pratt, of a son.

Feb. 26, at Chapel-house, Bromyard, Herefordshire, the wife of Mr. D. A. Owen, minister, of twins, son and daughter, one dead, the other living.

MARRIAGES.

Feb. 19, at Foleshill Independent chapel, by Dr. Styles, Mr E. Pountney, to Sarah Underhill, both of Bedworth, Warwickshire.

Feb 21, by license, in the Independent chapel, Torquay, by Mr. John Orange, minister, Mr. Robert Bolt, of Newton Abbott, to Miss Williams, of Torquay.

Feb. 21, at St. Peter's chapel, Leeds, by Mr. Robert Jackson, minister, Mr. William Andrew, to Miss Anne Otley Duffil, both of Nether Green, near Leeds.

Feb. 23, at the Independent chapel, Grantham, by Mr. J. Barfett, minister, Mr. Francis Lane, draper, to Mrs. Anne Watson, both of Gonerby.

Feb. 24, at the Old chapel, Westbury, by Mr. R. Harris, minister, Mr. S. Belshar, to Miss Ann Dyer, both of Westbury.

Feb. 24, at Eastbrook chapel, Mr. Abraham Waddington, to Miss Hannah Askwith, both of North Bierley.

Feb. 24, at Hanover-street chapel, Halifax, Mr. Thomas Shaw, to Mrs. Hannah Halstead, both of Southowram.

Feb. 24, at Carr's-lane chapel, Birmingham, by Mr. J. Roberts, minister, Mr. John Smith, of Handsworth, to Sarah, daughter of Mr. J. Lee, of Spiceal-street, in that town.

Feb. 25, at the Baptist chapel, South Parade, Leeds, by Mr. Jabez Tunnicliff, minister, Mr. Thomas Harrison, to Miss Patience Wood both of Leeds.

Feb. 25, at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel, Brighton, by Mr. J. Sortain, A.B., Elizabeth, daughter of the late Mr. Edward Simms, builder, to George D. Sawyer, timber merchant, both of Brighton

DEATHS.

Dec. 22, 1845, struck by a cannon-shot, while storming the Sikh batteries in front of Ferozepore, Lieutenant George Alfred Croly, 26th light infantry, N. I., eldest son of Dr. Croly, rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London.

Feb. 20, of consumption, Mary Jane, eldest daughter of the late C. Billups, Esq., of Chatteris, Cambs, in the 11th year of her age.

Feb. 20, at Manchester, aged 31, Mr. William Dracup, of Chapel-street, Salford, late superintendent of Greengate Sunday-school.

Feb. 22, at Duffield, in the 68th year of his age, Mr. S. Taylor, General Baptist minister of that place. The immediate cause of his death was a paralytic stroke, which seized him on the 13th inst.

Feb. 24, after a short illness, to the great grief of her bereaved husband and family, and sincerely lamented by a large circle of friends, Susanna Dorcas, the beloved wife of Mr. John Hubbard, hop merchant, 130, High-street, Southwark, and Sible Hedingham, Essex.

Feb. 25, Mr. John Dowman, Colchester, in the 70th year of his age.

Feb. 27, of consumption, in his 19th year, John, the eldest son of Mr. C. Hardcastle, Baptist minister, Waterford.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Friday, February 27.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to an act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

Wesleyan Methodist chapel, Colne, Lancashire.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

Walker, George Thomas, Landport, Southampton, draper, Feb. 26.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

Carey, William, Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, hair dresser.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

Phillips, Philip, Birmingham, steel pen maker.

BANKRUPTS.

Barker, Henry John, Flixton, Lancashire, logwood-grinder, March 13, April 3: solicitors, Messrs. Johnson and Co., Temple, London; and Messrs. Hitchcock and Co., Manchester.

Brock, John, Chester, innkeeper, March 13, April 14: solicitor, Messrs. Pocock and Co., Norfolk-street, Strand, London; and Mr. E. Cunnah, Chester.

Childs, Richard, Queen Anne-street, Cavendish-square, tailor, March 10, April 7: solicitors, Messrs. Edwards and Peake, New Palace-yard, Westminster.

Corrall, James, Boston, Lincolnshire, shipowner, March 13, April 14: solicitors, Mr. Hartley, Boston; and Mr. G. Jabet, Birmingham.

Earp, George Butler, City, ship-broker, March 6, and April 10: solicitor, Mr. Vardy, Finsbury-place.

Evens, Samuel, Blackrod and Aspul, Lancashire, cotton-spinner, March 11, April 6: solicitors, Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford-row, London; and Messrs. Hitchcock and Co., Manchester.

France, Abraham, and Lawton, William Pullon, Leeds, Yorkshire, stock-brokers, March 10 and 31: solicitors, Messrs. Williamson and Hill, Grays Inn, London; and Mr. Cariss, Leeds.

Godfrey, John, Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, linen-draper, March 13, April 10: solicitor, Mr. E. Govett, Upper North-place, Gray's Inn-road, London, and Midsomer Norton, Somersetshire.

Harvey, William Bull, Chacewater, Cornwall, mercer, March 6, April 11: solicitor, Mr. Cox, Pinners-hall, Old Broad-street.

Metford, Joseph, Bath, wine-merchant, March 13, April 10: solicitors, Mr. John Bishop, Lincoln's Inn-fields, London; and Messrs. Lovibond and Co., Bridgewater.

Parnell, Thomas, Manchester, laceman, March 16 and April 1: solicitors, Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford-row, London; and Messrs. J. and B. Whitworth, Manchester.

Perry, George, Stroud, Gloucestershire, coach-builder, March 12, April 10: solicitors, Mr. Brisley, Pancras-lane, London; and Mr. W. T. Paris, Stroud.

Reis, Lewis, Power, James, and Koenig, Gustavus, Fenchurch-street, merchants, March 10, April 21: solicitors, Messrs. Marten, Thomas, and Hollams, Mincing-lane, London.

Roberts, Issachar, Mold, Flintshire, grocer, March 13, April 17: solicitors, Messrs. Edwards and Co., New Palace-yard, London; and Mr. Ingleby, Mold.

Sandaver, John, Kenton-street, Brunswick-square, cabinet-maker, March 7, April 4; solicitor, Mr. Williams, Alfred-place, Bedford-square.

Shirt, John, Broad-street, Lambeth-butts, grocer, March 6, April 8: solicitor, Mr. Pope, Raymond's-buildings, Gray's Inn.

White, William, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, tailor, March 4, April 11: solicitors, Messrs. Tilleard and Co., Old Jewry.

Williams, Edward, Bishopsgate-street, linen-draper, March 10, April 21: solicitors, Messrs. Dickson and Overbury, Frederick's-place, Old Jewry.

Wright, John, Tamworth, scrivener, March 14, April 18: solicitors, Mr. Thornewill, Burton-upon-Trent; and Mr. E. H. Collis, Birmingham.

DIVIDENDS.

James Chaloner, Chester, currier; final div. of 2d. and 5-16ths of a penny; 11, Eldon-chambers, Liverpool, any Thursday—William Hay and John Alfred Titterton, London-road, Surrey, oilmen; div. of 5s.; 1, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street, any Friday—Hugh Pughe Price, Holywell, Flintshire, linendraper; first div. of 1s. 4½d.; 72, George-street, Manchester, any Tuesday—John Hughes, Manchester, provision-dealer; first dividend of 3s. 5½d.; 72, George-street, Manchester, any Tuesday—John Archer Dow, Romford, Essex, draper; div. of 5s.; 1, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street, any Friday—William Frederick Mills, High Holborn, gun-maker; third div. of 1s.; 12, Abchurch-lane, City, any Saturday—Thomas Standage, Chancery-lane, auctioneer; first div. of 7½d. in the pound; 12, Abchurch-lane, City, any Saturday—John Warner, Garforth, Yorkshire, maltster; final div. of 2s. 6d.; 14, Bishopsgate-street, Leeds, any day after March 2.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Bain, Alexander, Wick, merchant, March 3, April 3.

Campbell, Hugh, Glasgow, wine-merchant, March 7, April 4.

Corrie, Andrew, Dalton, Dumfriesshire, farmer, March 3 and 26.

Hutton, William, Glasgow, power-loom cloth manufacturer, March 5 and 30.

Lesslie, James, Linlithgow, innkeeper, Feb. 28, March 30.

Tuesday, March 3.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—

The Independent chapel, Crediton, Devonshire.
The Congregational chapel, Fritchley, Derbyshire.
The Baptist chapel, Bootle-cum-Linacre, Lancashire.

BANKRUPTS.

Dardier, George, late of Kingston, Jamaica, but now of Liverpool, merchant, March 20, April 17: solicitors, Messrs. Hall and Co., 2, Verulam-buildings, Gray's-inn, London; and Mr. John Neal, Liverpool.

Gillard, George, Plymouth, Devonshire, grocer, March 18, April 15: solicitors, Mr. G. W. Turner, Exeter; and Mr. Spyer, Broad-street-buildings, London.

Haddam, William John, Tottenham, Middlesex, brewer, March 10, April 17: solicitor, Mr. Peachey, Salisbury-square.

Halero, Augustus John, Leeds, dealer in linen cloths, March 17, April 6: solicitors, Messrs. Williamson and Co., Verulam-buildings, London; and Mr. Cariss, Leeds.

Hembler, Stephen Henry, Halesworth, Suffolk, grocer, March 18, April 7: solicitors, Messrs. Abbott and Wheatley, 3, Rolls-yard, Chancery-lane; and Messrs. Miller and Sons, Norwich.

Jee, John Audley Horace, Liverpool, insurance broker, March 20, April 17: solicitors, Messrs. Smith and Co., Bedford-row, London; and Mr. Greatley, Liverpool.

Nunn, James, Baker-street, Portman-square, haberdasher, March 12, April 7: solicitors, Messrs. Pain and Hatherley, Basinghall-street.

Smart, Joseph, 6, King-street, Stepney, late of King-street, Tower-hill, watchmaker, March 18, April 7: solicitors, Messrs. Goodman and Watts, 8, Coleman-street, London.

Syer, Abraham Stevens, Sudbury, Suffolk, grocer, March 10, April 22: solicitors, Messrs. Fry, Loxley, and Fry, Cheapside.

Wilson, James, Hill-street, Woolwich, and Bury-street, Chelsea, cabinet maker, March 11, April 21: solicitors, Messrs. Surr and Gribble, Lombard-street.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Bowden, John, Glasgow, merchant, March 5, 26.

Fleming, James, Dumfries, boot and shoemaker, March 18, April 22.

Jeffrey, Alexander, Jedburgh, writer, March 7, 28.

M'Gill, James, Glasgow, victualler, March 7, 28.

Neil, John Cook, Hutchisontown, Glasgow, ironfounder, March 9, 30.

DIVIDENDS.

William Henry Turner and Thomas Blucher Turner, Blackburn, Lancashire, cotton spinners, third div. of 2¼d., any Tuesday; 35, George-street, Manchester—Edward Thomas Jones and Henry Morritt Croskill, Rochdale, Lancashire, booksellers, first div. of 10s. 8d.; on the separate estate of Edward Thomas Jones, first div. of 9d.; and on the separate estate of Henry Morritt Croskill, first div. of 1¾d., any Tuesday; 35, George-street, Manchester—Thomas Todd, Manchester, dealer in cotton goods, first div. of 5s., any Tuesday; 35, George-street, Manchester—John Cummins, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, joiner, first and final div. of 5d., any Saturday; 111, Pilgrim-street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—Henry George Gibson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, chemist, first div. of 2s. 6d., any Saturday; 111, Pilgrim-street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—Edward Prodgers, Ludlow, banker, fourth div. of 3¾d., any Thursday; 7, Waterloo-street, Birmingham—John Britain, sen., Birmingham, jeweller, first div. of 9s., any Thursday; 7, Waterloo-street, Birmingham.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols ..	96	96⅛	96⅛	96⅛	96⅛	95⅞
Ditto for Account....	96	96⅜	96⅛	96⅛	96⅛	96⅛
3 per cents Reduced..	96⅛	96⅛	96⅛	96⅜	97	96⅛
New 3½ per cent.....	98	98⅛	98⅛	98⅜	—	98
Long Annuities.....	10⅜	10⅛	10⅜	—	10⅜	10⅜
Bank Stock.....	208½	209½	209½	208½	210	209
India Stock.....	—	261	—	262	262	261
Exchequer Bills.....	37pm	36pm	36pm	36pm	36pm	35pm
India Bonds	—	—	—	42	—	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Belgian	98	Mexican	31½
Brazilian.....	83	Peruvian	39
Buenos Ayres	40½	Portuguese 5 per cents..	27½
Columbian.....	18½	Ditto converted	59
Danish.....	89½	Russian	113
Dutch 2½ per cents	59⅜	Spanish Active	26
Ditto 4 per cents	95⅜	Ditto Passive	6⅜
French 3 per cents	84⅛	Ditto Deferred	16½

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham & Gloucester	126	London & CroydonTrunk	22½
Blackwall	8⅜	London and Greenwich	9¼
Bristol and Exeter	85	Ditto New	—
Eastern Counties	21⅜	Manchester and Leeds	133½
Edinburgh and Glasgow	70	Midland Counties	147
Grand Junction	—	Ditto New Shares	32
Great North of England..	220	Manchester and Birming.	77
Great Western	151	Midland and Derby	116
Ditto Half	84	Norwich and Brandon ..	25⅜
Ditto Fifths	33½	South Eastern and Dover	38
London and Birmingham	222½	South Western	73
London & Birm. ¼ Shares	26½	Trent Valley.....	26½
London and Brighton....	65¾	York and North Midland	19⅝

MARKETS.

MARK LANE, Monday, March 2.

The show of wheat from Kent, though moderate, was rather larger to-day than on Monday last; the demand was languid in the extreme, and, to have succeeded in making a clearance, less money must have been taken. The supply of barley was small, and choice malting qualities were easily placed at previous prices; secondary sorts moved off slowly. Old beans brought rather more money; new sold on much the same terms as before. Peas of all kinds were held at former rates. Oats were in fair request, and quite as dear. Canaryseed was dull of sale.

	s.		s.		s.		s.
Wheat, Red.....	49	to	58	Malt, Ordinary	48	to	50
Fine	56	..	64	Pale	52	..	60
White	54	..	63	Rye.....	34	..	40
Fine	62	..	67	Peas, Hog.....	30	..	32
Flour, per sack	40	..	57	Maple.....	31	..	33
Barley	23	..	25	Boilers.....	36	..	40
Malting.....	30	..	35	Beans, Ticks.....	32	..	34
	s.		s.	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN.			
Beans, Pigeon	34	to	38	Wheat	17s.		0d.
Harrow	32	..	39	Barley	7		0
Oats, Feed	21	..	23	Oats	6		0
Fine	23	..	27	Rye	8		6
Poland	22	..	26	Beans	7		6
Potato	24	..	26	Peas	6		6

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR FEB. 27.			AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.		
Wheat	55s.	0d.	Wheat	55s.	1d.
Barley	29	11	Barley	31	0
Oats	21	6	Oats	21	9
Rye	32	10	Rye	34	0
Beans	34	9	Beans	35	7
Peas	34	3	Peas.....	36	2

SEEDS, Monday, March 2.

Holders of red cloverseed have lately exhibited great firmness, and the rise in prices since this day fortnight may be fairly estimated at 4s. to 5s. per cwt. White seed was generally held 2s. per cwt. higher, and trefoil was also dearer. In other sorts of seeds there was not much doing, and Canary was easily bought at the recent reduction. Coriander may be quoted 10s. to 13s. Carraway, 50s. to 53s. In oil-cakes there was nothing doing.

POTATOES, Southwark, Waterside, March 2.

The supply is moderate, and many of the late arrivals have had quick passages, in consequence of which most of the samples have arrived in good condition, and the demand for Yorks and Scotch Reds has been brisk, and better prices have been realised; yet there is little or no demand for the inferior samples of Regents, Jersey Blues, or Blues, or Common Whites from any country.

HOPS, Borough, Monday, March 2.

For present consumption there is a fair demand, the stock being low as respects the last year's growth; and fine qualities being relatively the scarcest, and held firmly, are likely to rise when the demand becomes at all animated.

PROVISIONS, London, Monday, March 2.

In Irish butter the transactions were of a very limited character. The finer descriptions were saleable at good prices; the middling and inferior sorts nearly neglected, although offered at lower rates. The prices current varied according to quality from 76s. to 98s. per cwt. Foreign.—Fine quality in demand at 108s. to 124s. per cwt. Of bacon the dealers purchased with extreme caution, and therefore nothing worth notice was done in sales landed, or on board, and prices are the turn cheaper. Bale and tierce middles, at a decline of 1s. to 2s. per cwt., were not in free request. Hams with a limited demand, prices inclined downwards. Lard offered on easier terms, without increasing the sale. In cheese there has been a little more activity. Prices per cwt.:—Double Gloucester, 62s. to 64s.; single ditto, 48s. to 52s; Cheshire, 56s. to 76s.; Derby, 56s. to 60s.; and American, 50s. to 56s.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, Smithfield, Monday, March 2.

The arrivals of beasts from our own districts, fresh up to-day, being limited, and the attendance of buyers good, the beef trade was active at an advance in the quotations of 2d. per 8lbs.; the primest Scots producing 4s. 4d. per 8lbs., and at which a good clearance was effected. The numbers of sheep were smaller than on any previous market-day during the last forty years, yet the mutton trade was by no means active at last week's quotations. Prime small lambs produced 7s. per 8lbs. In calves very little was doing, while the pork trade was inactive at previous quotations.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef.....	2s. 10d. to 4s. 4d.	Veal.....4s.	0d. to 5s. 0d.
Mutton.....	3 10 .. 5 6	Pork.....3	8 .. 5 2

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday....	486	2,080	192	208
Monday..	2,451	14,140	53	210

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, March 2.
Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Inferior Beef	2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d.	Inf. Mutton	3s. 6d. to 3s. 8d.
Middling do	2 8 .. 2 10	Mid. ditto	3 10 .. 4 2
Prime large	3 0 .. 3 2	Prime ditto	4 4 .. 4 6
Prime small	3 4 .. 3 6	Veal	3 10 .. 4 10
Large Pork	3 6 .. 4 6	Small Pork	4 8 . 5 2

WOOL.

The public sales have been progressing in London all the week. For fine the result has been very satisfactory. Low and inferior wools are quoted rather lower in price. Leeds, Feb. 27.—We have not any change to report in this branch of trade this week. Sales are limited to the immediate wants of the manufacturers. Prices may be quoted as stationary.

COTTON.

Liverpool, Feb. 27.—The market continues in the same depressed state as noticed last week; and prices, particularly for the lower descriptions of American, have again been more in favour of the buyer. The market to-day has been very quiet, and closed so. The sales are estimated at 20,000 bales, all to the trade.

HAY, Smithfield, Feb. 28.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Meadow	65s. to 85s.	Oat Straw	30s. .. 32s.
Clover Hay.....	85 ..110	Wheat Straw.....	33 .. 35

COAL EXCHANGE, Feb. 27.

Stewart's, 15s. 6d.; Hetton's, 15s. 6d.; Braddyll's Hetton's, 15s. 6d. Ships arrived this week, 84.

GROCERIES, Tuesday, March 3rd, 1846.

TEA.—The deliveries continue large, and amount to 520,000 lbs. The market is dull, and prices have a downward tendency. Common sound Congous are selling at 9d., low Twankay at 1s. 1d. per lb., cash.

COFFEE.—There were no public sales. By private contract good ordinary (native) Ceylon are selling at 46s. per cwt.

SUGAR.—30 hhds of good brown Barbadoes sold at 46s. 6d. to 47s. per cwt., being former rates. The trade bought 250 hhds and tierces. There is but little doing in refined goods. Standard lumps are selling at 62s. 6d., and brown grocery at 61s. 6d. to 62s. per cwt. 8,000 bags Mauritius, in auction, fetched former rates; good yellow bringing 49s. 6d. to 50s., middling 48s. to 49s., low 46s. 6d. to 47s. 6d., low grey 45s. 6d. to 46s. 6d., middling 47s. to 48s., good 48s. 6d. to 49s., good brown 45s. to 45s. 6d., middling 44s. to 44s. 6d., low 42s. to 42s. 6d., very low 36s., syrupy 46s. 6d. to 49s. 6d., and washed 43s. to 49s. per cwt. 1,200 bags Bengal, in auction, fetched previous prices.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

HOMŒOPATHY and its PRINCIPLES EXPLAINED, being Four Lectures thereon, delivered at Exeter Hall. By John Epps, M.D. Price 3s.

"I rejoice to observe your activity in the cause; more especially as you appear to me, as far as I am acquainted with other writers on the subject, greatly to excel them all in the consistency and the force with which you have stated the homœopathic theory.

"M. B. SAMPSON."

Sold by Sherwood and Co., 23, Paternoster-row.

THE REV. WILLIAM KNIBB.—To enable all the Friends and Admirers of "this dauntless champion of the oppressed negro" to procure a faithful and correct PORTRAIT of him, Messrs. Dyer and Co. have determined to reduce the price of their justly-admired Lithographic Likeness nearly one-half.

They will be in future as follows, viz.:—Prints, 2s. 6d.; Proofs, on India-paper, 3s. 6d.; and highly coloured and mounted, 7s. 6d.

"The likeness is excellent."—*Christian Witness.*

"The likeness is true to nature."—*Christian Examiner.*

"The resemblance is admirable."—*Nonconformist.*

"The likeness is striking."—*Patriot.*

London: Dyer and Co., 24, Paternoster-row.

FURNITURE and BEDDING.—Cheapest and best house in London is SMITH'S FURNITURE MANUFACTORY, 22, Frederick-street, Bagnigge-wells-road, opposite Clerkenwell police court. Bed room chairs from 1s. 6d. each; cane-seat ditto, French polished, 2s. 6d; drawing room chairs from 4s.; solid rosewood at 15s.; solid mahogany loo tables, 28s.; solid rosewood couch, £3 15s.; French bedstead, full size, 15s. The limits of an advertisement preclude further enumeration; but books of prices, with copious designs for every description of house, sent postage free. Considerable advantages to country residents, as all furniture bought at this establishment is delivered carriage free.

KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.—A Remedy for all disorders of the Pulmonary Organs—in Difficulty of Breathing—in Redundancy of Phlegm—in Incipient Consumption (of which Cough is the most positive indication) they are of unerring efficacy. In Asthma and in Winter Cough they have been seldom known to fail.

KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES are free from every deleterious ingredient; they may, therefore, be taken at all times, by the most delicate female and by the youngest child; while the Public Speaker and the Professional Singer will find them invaluable in allaying the hoarseness and irritation incidental to vocal exertion, and, consequently, a powerful auxiliary in the production of melodious enunciation.

Prepared and sold in boxes, 1s. 1½d., and tins, 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 10s. 6d. each, by Thomas Keating, Chemist, &c., No. 79, St Paul's-churchyard, London. Retail by all Druggists and Patent Medicine Vendors in the Kingdom.

RECENT TESTIMONIALS.

London, 68, Cheapside, Dec. 3, 1845.

Dear Sir—Having, for some years past, as the winter approached, been subject to a severe cough, my attention was lately called to your Cough Lozenges, and, after taking two small boxes in the course of the last three weeks, I have no hesitation in saying that, in my opinion, they are the best remedy, and have given me more ease than anything I have ever met with. I am, dear sir, yours truly, (Signed) WILLIAM WHITE.

To Mr. T. Keating, 79, St. Paul's-churchyard.

The following Testimonial of a Cure of Cough of twenty years' standing, and recovery of strength, will be read with much interest:—

Sir—I beg to inform you that, for the last twenty years, I have suffered severely from a cough, and have been under medical treatment with but little relief, and have not for many years been able to walk more than half a mile a day. After taking three boxes of your lozenges my cough entirely left me, and I have this day walked to Ross, a distance of four miles. For this almost renewal of life I am solely indebted to your lozenges. You are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter, and I shall be happy to answer any inquiries respecting my cure. I remain, sir, your obedient and obliged servant, (Signed) MARY COOKE.

Pencrais, July 16, 1845.

Extract of a Letter, dated St. John's, Newfoundland:—

To Mr. Thomas Keating,

St. Paul's-churchyard, London. October 18, 1845.

Sir—From an advertisement in the *Christian Witness*, I was induced to get a supply of your Cough Lozenges, which I did not receive till some time last month, and they have taken so readily, that I have only a few tins remaining. Several of my customers have expressed their satisfaction with them; and my mother, who has an asthmatic cough, and grandmother (over eighty), a chronic cough of many years' standing, were both sensibly relieved the first night after taking them. I now required an additional supply a little larger than the first. You will please to send me, by the earliest opportunity, six dozen boxes, and two dozen tins, for which I will remit you by Mr. Campbell, who leaves here in December.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant.

SAMUEL KNIGHT.

These Lozenges contain neither Opium, nor any preparation of that drug.

THE PIQUA PLANT.—EXTRAORDINARY ECONOMY TO TEA-DRINKERS.

The Piqua Plant is, indeed, an article which claims pre-eminence as a boon for the poor, a delicacy to the rich, a blessing to invalids, and an advantage to the public to the highest degree—unto all and every one. In calling public attention to the Piqua Plant, the proprietor wishes it to be tested solely by its own merits, being assured an unprejudiced trial will establish its worth better than the most laboured eulogy. It is most pleasant and invigorating, and is recommended to the debilitated for its invaluable qualities, to advanced age for its strengthening properties, and to the public generally for its moderate price and intrinsic excellence.

The Test: The proof of the efficacy and healthful effect of the plant in preference to tea or coffee. Let a nervous or dyspeptic patient use two or three cups of strong tea upon retiring to rest, and the effect will be the nightmare, disturbed sleep, and other violent symptoms of indigestion, &c.—The Proof: Let the most debilitated, dyspeptic, asthmatic, consumptive, and nervous patients, use two, three, or more cups of a very strong infusion of the Piqua Plant, and in the morning they will awake refreshed with their repose. It is highly recommended by physicians to invalids and children as a most invigorating and pleasant beverage.

The following are reasons why the Piqua Plant is superior to tea, viz.:—1st. Because it is beneficial to health; 2nd. It does not injure the nerves; 3rd. Children may use it with advantage; 4th. It does not prevent sleep; 5th. A quarter of a pound will go as far as three quarters of the best gunpowder tea; 6th. It is strengthening and nutritious; 7th. It is recommended by physicians, and tea is disapproved of by them. It greatly improves the voice; it is recommended to singers and public speakers.

TESTIMONIALS.

To Mr Wm. Evans. Sir,—The beverage under the name of Piqua Plant I have drank for some time. It was first recommended to my notice as a salutary beverage by a friend who is a great dyspeptic, and I have since recommended it to several patients suffering from chronic affections of the digestive organs, heart, and lungs, with manifest advantage. JOHN BRYANT, M.D.

20, Edgware-road, July 1, 1843.

To Mr Wm. Evans. Sir,—At a social party, convened expressly for the purpose of testing the Piqua Plant in this town (Belfast), we, whose signatures are attached to this document, consider it a duty incumbent upon us to bear our most ardent testimony to its salutary, convalescent, and exhilarating qualities:—Dr. Carse, Dr. Read, John M'Blair, surgeon, Archy Carse, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Davison, John Ellson, methodist preacher, John Johnson, and N. P. Neile, Lake-View House, near Carsons, Ireland, agent for the Piqua Plant. I would just say, in conclusion, that your plant has exceeded my most sanguine expectations. I am fully sensible that I can obtain a great consumption for it in this locality, as the last I got (viz. 14lbs.) was sold in two days. Many are coming now it is all gone. Finally, it is the opinion of those who give it a fair trial that it is much superior to tea, on account of its medicinal, invigorating, and exhilarating qualities. N. P. NEILE.

Lake-View House, Carsons, Ireland, April 16, 1845.

To Mr Wm. Evans. Sir,—After giving your plant a fair trial, I with pleasure offer my most favourable testimony as to its beneficial effects on the system generally. It forms an agreeable beverage, and I strongly recommend its use to persons labouring under nervous depression or derangement of the digestive organs.

J. RENNIE, M.R.C.S., &c.

To Mr Wm Evans. Sir—I have great pleasure, and indeed I consider it an imperative duty, in justice to you, and for the benefit of others, to bear testimony to the excellent qualities of the Piqua Plant. It has wholly removed a constant painful nervous debility, with which I was affected, which produced restless nights, and, constantly, overpowering languor during the day. Since the use of the infusion, the disease has entirely disappeared. I sleep soundly for six, seven, and eight hours together, and am better in health than I have been for many years; and others to whom I have recommended it have experienced the same results. You are at liberty to use this testimonial, which I am ready to confirm in person whenever you may think proper. G. TAHOURDIN.

Belvidere-place, Borough-road, July 17, 1845.

Numerous testimonials, from physicians and others of undoubted authority, may be seen at Evans's Depôt.

The plant is patronised by many of the first families in the land. The economy derived from the use of the Piqua Plant, compared with Tea, is as follows:—Suppose a family using 1lb. of tea per week, worth 4s. per lb., substitutes the Piqua Plant at 3s. 6d. per lb., which requires but one-third the quantity to make the infusion of equal strength, the saving would be, per week, 2s. 10d., and the cost to the family 1s. 2d., instead of 4s., for one-third of a pound of the plant will go as far as 1lb. of tea. In quarter-pound tinfoil packages. None is genuine unless each package bears the signature of William Evans. One agent wanted in each town and village where there is none. Any respectable trade approved of. No license required.

Direct letters to Mr. Evans's warehouse, 18, Stafford-street, Peckham. London: Mr. Johnson, Cornhill; Shead and Co., 144, Cheapside; Mr. Cutter, Strand, next door to Savoy-street.

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	Fiddle Pattern.	Threaded Pattern.	King's Pattern.
Table Spoons and Forks, full size, per dozen.....	12s.	28s.	30s.
Dessert ditto and ditto, ditto.....	10s.	21s.	23s.
Tea ditto and ditto, ditto.....	5s.	11s.	12s.
Gravy ditto	3s.	6s.	7s.

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	Fiddle.	Thread.	King's.
Teaspoons, per dozen	18s.	32s.	38s.
Dessert Forks ,, ...	30s.	46s.	58s.
Dessert Spoons ,, ...	30s.	52s.	62s.
Table Forks ,, ...	40s.	68s.	75s.
Table Spoons ,, ...	40s. ...	72s.	80s.

Tea and Coffee Sets, Waiters, Candlesticks, &c., at proportionate prices. All kinds of re-plating done by the patent process. Detailed catalogues, with engravings, as well as of every ironmongery article, sent (per post) free.

RIPPON and BURTON'S Stock of General Furnishing Ironmongery is literally the largest in the world. They regret they cannot employ any language which will convey an adequate impression of its variety and extent; they therefore invite purchasers to call and inspect it.—Rippon and Burton, 39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street). Established in Wells-street, 1820.

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No bidding for Shares.—No Redemption Fees or Interest on Advances.

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To the Directors of the United Kingdom Building and Investment Society.

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Residence.....
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All Post-office orders must be made payable to Mr. William Lovely, at the Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand, and must be received before four o'clock on the day of payment.

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By order of the Directors,
JOHN GABLE, Manager.
JOSEPH I. HOLCOMBE, Secretary.

The Manager or Secretary attend at the School-room on Tuesday and Friday in each week, to admit Members.

NEW MUSIC FOR PIANOFORTE.

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THE PIANISTA, No. 63, contains "The Royal Navy" and Welsh Quadrilles, now playing at the Promenade Concerts. The two Sets 1s., charged by Jullien 7s.—No. 62 contains the "Elfin" Waltz, and two new songs, for 1s.—No. 61, Music in "Marble Maiden," 1s.—No. 60, the Mazurka, Polka, and Quadrille in "The Devil to Pay" (Diable à Quatre), now playing at Drury Lane, and all the Theatres, 1s.—No. 59 contains the whole Opera of "Somnambula," 2s.—No. 57, ditto "Fra Diavolo," 2s.—Or the Nos. from 57 to 62, in splendid binding, as a Christmas or New Year's Present, for 10s., sent carriage free to any part of the Kingdom for a Post Office order for 12s., in favour of the Editor, 67, Paternoster-row.

TO FLUTE PLAYERS.

The FLUTONICON, for December No. 1845, price 6d., contains the Music in "Le Diable à Quatre." No. 143 contains the Opera of "Somnambula;" No. 142, "Fra Diavolo;" No. 97, "Norma." All the numbers contain the gems of an Opera, or equivalent, for 6d. To the Flute player, as recreations after more difficult studies, the Flutonicon is invaluable. The whole numbers in Twelve Vols, for Four Guineas, elegantly bound, or in 145 numbers, at 5d. each.

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ENGRAVING of a LADY under the GALVANIC OPERATION.—INVALIDS are solicited to send to Mr. HALSE, 5, Pelham-crescent, Brompton, London, for his PAMPHLET on MEDICAL GALVANISM, which will be forwarded free on receipt of two postage stamps. They will be astonished at its contents. In it will be found the particulars of cures in cases of asthma, rheumatism, sciatica, tic douloureux, paralysis, spinal complaints, headaches, deficiency of nervous energy, liver complaints, general debility, indigestion, stiff joints, all sorts of nervous disorders, &c. Mr. Halse's method of applying the galvanic fluid is quite free from all unpleasant sensations; in fact, it is rather pleasurable than otherwise, and many ladies are exceedingly fond of it. It quickly causes the patient to do without medicine. Terms, One Guinea per week.

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